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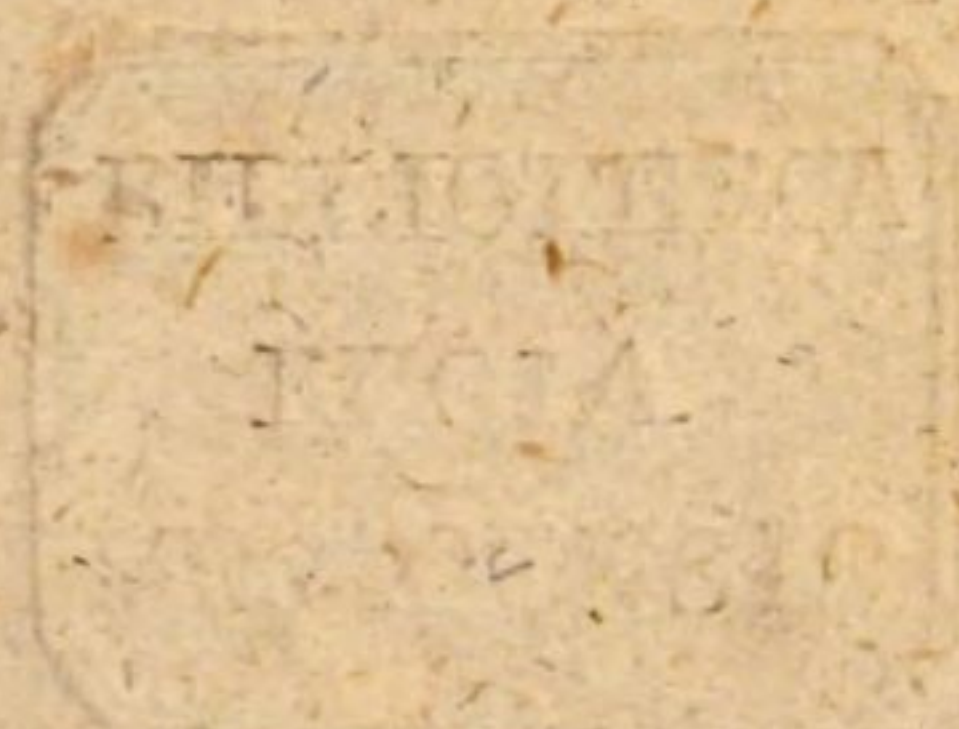
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Haversham

(Haversham)



MEMOIRS
OF THE
Late RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN
Lord *HAVERSHAM*,
FROM
The Year 1640 to 1710.

WITH
His Lordship's PRIVATE OBSERVATIONS up-
on the most Remarkable OCCURENCES from
the Beginning of Her MAJESTY's Reign, to the
Day of his Death; Containing the Occasion of
his Disgust with the COURT, and the REASONS
that induc'd him to become a Zealous Defender
of the Establish'd CHURCH.

To which are added

All His SPEECHES in *Parliament*, and the Pro-
ceedings thereupon; with *One* against the BILL
for RECRUITING Her Majesties LAND
FORCES, never before Printed.

The whole Publish'd from his Lordship's Original Papers.

LONDON, Printed for J. Baker in Pater-noster-
Row, 1711. (Price 1 s.)

Where may be had the *Morocco* Ambassador's Speech to
Her Majesty December 20. 1710. and M——m's Lamenta-
tion for H——y, Translated from the Greek of Homer,
(Price 1 d. each.)

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T O

The RIGHT HONOURABLE

MAURICE,

Lord H A V E R S H A M.

My LORD,

THE following PAPERS of your truly Noble FATHER, stand in need of no One's Patronage or Protection.

His Deceas'd LORDSHIP was all his Life time very far from ever making the least Court to any Person, as will sufficiently appear from that Plainness and Freedom he always us'd ; and now (to the Universal Concern of All hearty Well-wishers to our Good Old Constitution) He is number'd among the Dead, the World will absolve him from the Necessity of any Man's Favour but your LORDSHIP's, in Whose Image He is to Survive, and by whose Imitation, the Brightness of His Character is to be deduc'd to after Ages.

Having not only the great Honour of being well known to His LORDSHIP, but likewise all the Advantages that could be acquir'd from

the most Free Conversation, and a Communicative Intercourse with the REASONS that induc'd Him to be of that Immoveable Temper in preferring the Service of his Country to all other Interests whatever, which Principle He steadfastly adher'd to: I have therefore undertaken the Publication of these PIECES, in some of which I found many gross Errors occasion'd by Imperfect Copies; but I have done that Justice to his Lordship's Memory as carefully to Correct them, by sticking close to the Manuscripts even in the Minuteest Circumstances.

As the Original justly Merits your LORDSHIP'S highest Esteem, so now I hope the Copy will be as equally Valuable to Posterity, and likewise find a Place in that Library which must stamp an Authority upon all Books that are admitted into it, from your Father's distinguishing Choice, and your LORDSHIP'S Unerring Judgment: This, My LORD, will sufficiently Recompence the Labour of

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient

Humble Servant,

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S O M E
M E M O I R S
Relating to the
L I F E
O F T H E
R I G H T H O N O U R A B L E
J O H N L o r d *H A V E R S H A M*.

J O H N T H O M P S O N Lord *Haversham*,
ow'd his Descent to a very Ancient Family
in *Buckinghamshire*, and was the Son of
Maurice Thompson Esq; the Eldest Branch of
it, whose chief Estate lay in and about *Haversham*
in the said County, to which He succeeded, with
other large Inheritances at the Decease of his Fa-
ther.

As for His Education it was every way suitable
to his Birth, and to add to the Advantages of very
Excellent Natural Parts, He had all the Acquisi-
tions of Polite Literature that it was possible for a

(b)

Gen-

Gentleman to be Master of: Not but thro' the Prepossessions of his Father, who had taken Arms against the Royal Party in the Late Civil Wars, he was bred up in such Principles as favour'd the Rebellion then in being, and made Him lean very much to Republican Schemes and Policies, which increas'd with Him as He grew in Years, from a very great Intimacy He had contracted with the late Lord *Wharton*, who was a violent stickler against the Court in those Days. By this Noble Peer's means our young Gentleman grew into the Esteem of *Arthur* Earl of *Anglesey*, then Lord Privy Seal, who was a Gentleman that very much favour'd the Dissenters, and was always for such Measures as favour'd the least of Persecution. Hence it was that He was some time after Married to His Lordship's Daughter, the Lady *Frances Windham*, Relict of *John Windham* of *Felbrigg-Hall* in the County of *Norfolk* Esq; by whom He had Issue One Son and Eight Daughters, of whom more hereafter. By this Match he was brought into the Good Graces of King *Charles* the Second, who would have prefer'd Him on His Compliance with some Practices at Court, which He could by no means allow of. However He was created a Baronet by that Prince in 1673. and offer'd to be made Treasurer of the Chambers at the same Time; which he generously refus'd.

In 1678, He was a violent stickler against the Court in Parliament, and was for searching into the Bottom of the Popish Plot; and an Obstinate forwarder of the Bill of Exclusion. Neither was He less Zealous against the Prevailing Vices of the Court in the succeeding Parliament, and in that at *Oxford* was for the Speaker's keeping the Chair after the King had Dissolv'd them.

In 1685 He was chosen again, and came up to Parliament with the same Sentiments; and tho' upon *Monmouth's* Rebellion He sided with the Attainder, He was very violent against King *James* the Second's keeping a standing Army, when it was happily quash'd.

In 1688. He was one of the first that Sign'd the *Association* to Invite the Prince of *Orange* over into *England*, and none of the last that joyn'd Him in the West.

Upon that Prince's Accession to the Crown, He was call'd to assist at Court with his Counsels, but being contented with Serving his Country both in the Convention and the Parliament that ensued, He could not be prevail'd upon to come into their Measures till the year 1696. when He accepted of a Patent from the King that created Him Baron of *Haversham*, and made Him one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in which Post He continued till the Earl of *Pembroke* was made Lord High Admiral.

That Promotion put Him out of Temper, and thenceforward He took all Opportunities of opposing almost every thing that was Advanc'd by the Court.

In 1702, finding no notice taken of Him by the Court, He went on with his Resentment, and was a great Obstacle to the *Occasional Conformity Bill*, which at that Time was Voted for by all that had Places of Trust.

In 1703, and 1704, He was the very same Man, and very forward in flinging it out of the House of Lords, after it had Thrice pass'd the Commons.

In 1705, finding the Whiggs drove at Schemes He could not down with, He altogether bid adieu

to their Principles, and tho' He still own'd Himself an *Occasional Conformist*, in going sometimes to Church, and some to Meetings, no Peer of *England* was more Hearty for the Interest of the Church Establish'd than Himself.

The remaining part of his Time was spent in the Service of our Holy Religion, Queen, and Country, which His Speeches made in Parliament sufficiently attest.

In *May* 1709, He Married Mrs. *Graham*, the Widow of Lieut. General *Graham*, whom he buried the Spring following, and after a short Indisposition himself departed this Life, *November* 1. 1710, at his Seat in *Richmond*, leaving behind Him one Son, *Maurice* Lord *Haversham*, Married to Mr. *Smith's* Daughter of *Hertfordshire*, and Seven Daughters, (*viz.*) *Helena* Wife, to the Reverend Mr. *Gregory*, Rector of *Tuddington* in the County of *Bedford*; *Elizabeth*, to Mr. *Grange*; *Mary*, to the Right Honourable *Arthur* now Earl of *Anglesey*; *Frances*, to *Thomas* *Armstrong* Esq; *Catharine*, to Mr. *White* Attorney at Law; *Dorothy*, to Captain *Bickford*; and *Althamia* unmarried.

Nov. 13. His Corps was interr'd in *Richmond* Church, the Pall born up by the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Lords, *Hyde*, *Howard*, *Cheyney*, and *Mohun*. And whatsoever Monument is design'd Him by his Successor, none can be more Expressive of his Worth than the following Speeches.

His Lordship's Speech against the *Recruiting Bill* having never yet been Printed, and not knowing the Session it was spoke in, could not methodically range it in order of Time among the Rest, and therefore have thought proper, as its being a *Posthumous* Piece, to place it here.

A
S P E E C H

Against the

B I L L,

'For R E C R U I T I N G

Her Majesty's L A N D - F O R C E S.

My LORDS,

I Must crave your Lordship's Patience once more this Session, and that in Relation to the BILL you have just now Read, since as a Court of Equity we ought to do that Justice to the Subject, which the Commons, by the Contents of it, seem to have refus'd.

The fatal Consequences of all Arbitrary Power are generally Oppression and Slavery, which dismal effects are the same, whether they be felt under an *English, French, Dutch, or Spanish* Government; for the Nature of all Tyranny in its self is alike, let it be exercis'd where, and by what Authority soever.

But

But if there be any Difference in the Grievance of it, it will appear to be most unnatural, when used and settled by a Power that ought to be the strongest Bulwark against it; if therefore the Liberty of the Subject be restrain'd, forc'd, and taken away by consent of the Peoples Representatives the Guardians of it, the Loss of it will certainly seem to be so much the more intolerable, by how much the more it is their Duty and their Interest, to Defend and Preserve the Peoples Rights entire from all Violence.

My Lords, under every free and just Government, the People enjoy an equal Right in the Liberty of their Persons and Estates, and have one and the same Common Benefit of the same Law: Where, and to whomsoever this Justice is deny'd, I am sure the People must fall under the heaviest Tyranny, Oppression and Slavery, in the World.

That this Bill, as now brought into the House, does restrain and deprive the much greater part of the People, of that Freedom and Property which the rest of their Fellow-Subjects enjoy, is very plain and evident, by the exceptions of such Persons as are only exempted from being forc'd from their Country, their Wives and their Children, into Foreign Service. The Persons only excepted, I find, are Clergy-men, the Scholars of the Two Universities, the Students of the Inns of Court, all Freeholders and Copyholders, and their Sons that have Land to the yearly value of Forty Shillings, or that did pay to the late subsidy Act; All Electors and Voters for any County, City, or Borough: So that all Apprentices and Servants, all Grasiers, Farmers, Labourers, and all other Persons whatsoever, not exempted by the Qualifications above specify'd (which extend

tend not to one Third of the People of *England*) are liable to be Banish'd their Country, and forc'd from their Masters, and their Families, without any Limitation of Time, and, almost, hopes of Returning; whilst every small Freeholder and Copyholder, every corrupt Voter and Elector, of any City or Borough (of whom a great Number might, of all People, be the best spar'd) shall stay at Home in Luxury, Sloth, and all the other Crimes that attend our Elections. So that the best Consequence, that can be expected of this Bill, will be, That all Cities and Boroughs will be croud'd with the most Idle Persons of the Country, who are able at any Rate, or by any way to make themselves Voters, in order to exempt themselves from the Fatigue and Danger of War, and the Country by this Means will be drain'd and depriv'd of Servants, Farmers, and Labourers, who are the most Industrious and Necessary Persons of the Common-wealth, to Till and Cultivate the Land.

It is impossible, *My Lords*, to foresee all the fatal Consequences of this Bill. One of the greatest shocks that ever happen'd to the *Roman* State, was from their Slaves, who took up Arms to recover the Liberty of their Persons. The Rebellion of *Naples*, and several other Dangerous Popular Insurrections, both in our own, and Neighbouring States, have been the Effects of less Causes. How can it then be thought, that Free-born *Englishmen*, without the least Accusation or Suspicion of a Crime, will patiently endure to be Condemn'd to Death, or perpetual Slavery.

Lucius Manlius, the Dictator, having contrary to the Customs of the *Romans*, from the Foundation of their State to his Time, caus'd some Persons

sons to be Whipp'd, and others to be Imprison'd, for refusing to List themselves ; was Accus'd before the People as Guilty of the highest Crime, and had certainly Suffer'd Death or some other Exemplary Punishment ; but that his Son going privately Arm'd to the Tribune of the People, threatned and resolv'd his Death, till the Tribune was forc'd Solemnly to Swear they would drop the Accusation.

The Usage of the Soldiers have been very Hard and Severe, and this Bill will certainly make it worse ; for what Concern can it be thought the Officers will have for their Men, when they are sensible they must be supply'd by the Country, without any Charge or Trouble to themselves ? I must here take Notice, that this great Oppression is not restrain'd only to Recruit Her Majesty's Army in the *Netherlands*, but Her Forces in General : So that Persons thus Constrain'd, may be sent into either of the *Indies*, as well as into the *Low-Countries* ; a Hardship beyond Expression. In my Opinion, My Lords, this is the ready way to Depopulate the Land, to Sell the Lives of our Subjects, and to Establish and Confirm, or at least Promote the Sale of Them both at Home and Abroad, by a Law, in which there is not any strain of Popular Applause.

It was generally expected, That at least the Design of this Bill, should have been Specious and Plausible, that it should have only rid and eased the Country of Loose, Idle, Disorderly Persons, who are a Pest and Burthen to a Common-wealth ; but had due care been taken to put so fair a Gloss upon it, I am afraid it would have prov'd in the End as False, and as Fatal to us as the *Lacedemonians* did to the *Athenians*, who after the Reduction of
Athens

Athens under their Power, first began to put to Death only such as were Obnoxious to the People ; but after the Establishment of their Tyranny, the best of the Citizens Suffer'd and were Executed with the rest. This also was *Sylla's* Maxim, when He had subdued the Liberty of *Rome*, *Damocippus* a Cruel Favourer of *Marius* was thought to Suffer as a Worthy Example of his Justice, and his Death was attended with the loud Applause and Acclamations of the People. But it was soon found, that his Punishment was only a Specious Pretence, and a Plausible Beginning to that Succeeding Slaughter, with which He fill'd the *Senate* and the *Forum*. The Promoters of this Bill, My Lords, are not Masters of such Refin'd Politics, they have not endeavour'd to Conceal or put any Colour upon their Intentions, but have at once discover'd what they always in their Hearts design'd should be the Practices of it when obtain'd, upon what pretence soever.

The Difficulties of Proportioning the Number each County or District is to find, as well as where to lodge the Coercive Power, are so many, and so great, that they seem to be almost insuperable ; so that I shall not enter into those Particulars, but agree with the Sentiments of the lower House upon another occasion, *That the promoting the Interest of this Bill in general, does directly tend to Subject the Rights of the Commons of England, to an Illegal and Arbitrary Power ;* and therefore desire that it may be left to be the Act of a more Arbitrary King or Queen, or a more Servile Parliament, being perswaded in my own Conscience, that if the Representatives of the People will not take Care of those who are immediately under their Protection, your Lordships ought to do it for them.

His Lordship's Speech November 15. 1705, Relating to The State of the Nation, having been very much reflected upon in several Review's at that time; we shall here Insert that Handsome Defence of his Lordship's, against the Insolence of such a Wretched and Profligate Scribler, as the Author of those Papers has lately own'd himself to be, in acknowledging to have taken barely upon Trust several Informations that were sent him, which tended to no other end than the Defamation of many Creditable and Considerable Persons, for the better accomplishing of their intended Designs against them.

A SPEECH in Parliament November the 5th, 1705. Vindicated from the Aspersions of the REVIEW.

THE Insults and Scandalous and Reflections that have been made upon me in several late Reviews, though they are beyond all President, yet should have been without any Notice, had the Author of those Papers been the only Person concern'd in them: But being convinced upon enquiry from whence he has both his Encouragement and Instructions, and being unwilling to be thought guilty by Default, or that Silence on my part should go for Confession, or Railing on his part go for Reason, I choose rather to appeal from the Malicious Insinuations and False Suggestions of those Papers to the candied and impartial Judgment of every unbiass'd Reader, than take those Advantages which his Rashness and Impudence, perhaps have given me.

I would not have it thought I am entering the List with such a mean and mercenary Prostitute as the Author of the *Review* : I know better the Regard due to the Peerage of *England* (tho' some have forgot it) than to lessen that or my self to such a Degree. But when a Person, my equal (excepting a few accidental Ornaments and Advantages which I do not pretend to) who never yet would give me any Answer elsewhere, tho' more than once provok'd to it, has betaken himself to such unusual and unbecoming Methods ; 'tis but Justice to my self to let him see, that as I Court no Man's Favour, so I do not fear any Man's Power so much as to desert my own just Defence in a Complement.

I begin with the Reflections made upon my Person ; and 'here it looks very unaccountable, how one that has pretended to so great Moderation, as the Author of the *Review*, should be carried so much above his avow'd Principle in a Matter he is so very little concern'd in. It must certainly be the Force of some irresistible Temptation, or the occult Quality, and malign Influence of some ruling Star that warmed and transported this *State-mountebank*, when he wrote those Papers, to such a Degree above his pretended Moderation-temper, as to Characterize a Person he had not the least Knowledge of, with as Black Marks of Infamy as he could invent, or durst venture upon : As if for speaking my Mind with the Duty of a Subject, and the Freedom of an English Man, I became every thing that was not *Scandalum magnatum*.

What a Monster has one Speech made me ! he says, 'Twas calculated and screw'd up to a Pitch of *Malcontent and Chagrin* : as if done on purpose to sour the Nation, and printed with an unpeaceable and mischievous Meaning ; to be design'd to keep alive a *Mal-*

content Party, by a Mouth bent to Noise and Reflection, by a Person malign to the Settlement, in hopes to raise Grounds of Clamour, and as one who had a great many ill Ends; that it was spoke with Freedom that consists, not any where with Duty, Allegiance, Truth, Sense or Respect; with Expectation to force a Fortune by railing at his Betters, reviling the Ruler of the People, and accusing the Innocent, to please and court a Party; Spoken like Solomon's Fool, with his Eyes in the Ends of the Earth, proposing what is ridiculous and incongruous, calculated to revive the Heats and dying Quarrels in the Nation, and encourage the Follies that mad Men make use of to ruin the Country in such Cases; by a Person, whose fancied Reputation to them that did not know he had — it, might serve to push on the specious Sham to an Extremity, and to bias honest ignorant People in his Favour, &c.

What a Number of Unaccountables (as he calls them) are here! whence could he furnish himself with such an Expence of Scandal, or rake together such a load of Infamy? But no Men charge so furiously as those that are in Compact, and think themselves Shot-free, by having their Charm and Protection about them. Being then thus unjustly attacked, not so much by this Hackney Tool, whom I despise, as by a M—— in Masquerade; I am compell'd to say those things for my self, which without such Provocation, would look vain and boasting.

This Scandalous Author (or whoever bid him say so) when he tells the World, that I have — my Reputation, would have done well to have prov'd it by instance. I have had the Honour to have been employ'd in some Publick Stations, and entrusted by some of the Chief of his Party, at a time, when they thought themselves in no small
Danger,

Danger, and when there was not so good an Understanding between us. I appeal to the Head of them, Whether, at his earnest Desire, I did not act the Gentleman-part, and serve him faithfully: And though afterwards I had the Misfortune to fall under the Displeasure of a House of Commons, 'tis as well known as they are, it was for interposing between them and Danger, for too vigorously espousing their Cause, and could never have imagin'd the same way of Proceeding in falling upon some, and leaving others who are equally concern'd in the same Facts (which I always did, and ever shall think very partial) should be look'd upon as unjust, when it was some Mens own Case, and quite otherwise, when it was the E—— of N——— in the Business of the Sc——h P——t. It was my differing from some Men in this Affair, that I believe was my Original Sin ; which is never to be forgiven, because it never will be repented of. But what, tho' I am so unfortunate as to differ in somethings from those, who, in my Opinion, sometimes differ from themselves: I might, notwithstanding, both in Justice and Gratitude, have expected better Usage, than to be marked and singled out, like a blown Deer to be run down the *shortest Way* by such a foul Mouth'd Mungrel? If I have not deserved such a Return, (as by their own Acknowledgments I can shew I have not) those that serve them better hereafter, may expect, if possible, to be used worse.

The Maxim is as known as ancient, 'Tis the Office shews the Man: Let an Instance then of any one single Act of Partiality, Oppression, Corruption or Injustice, during my being in any publick Station be charged upon me, I appeal to the Sea-Officers, and every common Seaman that knew
me,

me, whilst I was in the Admiralty. I made no After-advantage by serving any body in the Commission of Accounts, nor was I trusted with any Secrets, tho' I could not sit there without making Remarks as well as others; nor did I ever contrive any Clauses for the Advantage of the publick Service, whilst out of the Ministry, which I forgot when once I got in.

Had I ever been suspected of holding Intelligence with *St. Germans*, or the *French King*, had my Name been ever used in *French* or *Scotch* Plots, or mention'd in the Confession of any dying Man, had I, being an *English* Man, advised the Queen to pass the Act of *Security* in *Scotland*, or the removing or laying aside any of the great *Scotch* Lords, whilst they were promoting and endeavouring to bring the Succession to bear the two last Sessions of the *Scotch* Parliament; or had I before that, upon the presumptive Confidence of my own better Judgment, without Communicating the Matter to any other Person, singly advised the passing the Act of *Peace* and *War* in *Scotland*, and endeavour'd to shelter my self from that Imputation, by perswading the World that others, who knew nothing of it, were as much concern'd in that Advice as my self: These might have been some tolerable Grounds to have justified the Pamphleteer's Reflections. But to speak inconsistently with Duty, Allegiance, Truth, Sense or Respect, before such Pretence, and not be in the *Tower*; and if I did not, that the Pamphleteer should not be somewhere else, may seem as strange too as the railing at my Betters, and reviling my Ruler, would be to force a Fortune, by courting a Party, who at present are so far from having it in their Power to oblige any body by their Interest, that

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'tis look'd upon by some as a Crime to have the Honour of so much as the least Acquaintance with them. But this Author who writes for Bread, and lives by Defamation, thinks those, I perceive, who are known to be under no Inducement of Necessity, govern themselves by his base and Mercenary Principles.

'Tis very wonderful, after all, that a Proposal for inviting over the Presumptive Heir to the Crown, should expose a Man to all this virulent fury: That a Person only for mentioning it, should be call'd by the Name of *Mr. Politicus*, *Speaking Trumpet*, *Grating Saw*, &c. Whoever have read *Great Britain's Union*, and the Security of the *Hannover Succession* consider'd, will find that Matter was thought on many Months before the Paper call'd *Mercurius Politicus*, ever appeared. And tho' the Reviewer is very free in calling this a ridiculous Proposal, incongruous and inconsistent with the general Good; yet perhaps, this very Person would not have been so very confident, had he seen (as I have) the Extract of the Princess *Sophia's* Answer, dated *Novemb. 3. 1705.* to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury's* Letter; in which are these Words, *viz. I am ready and willing to comply with whatever can be desired of me by my Friends, in Case that the Parliament think that it is for the Good of the Kingdom to invite me into England.* Some Men reading this, I doubt not, will think again. If we only consider'd what that Proposal has produc'd, it might deserve (one would think) better Language: We have had several Acts of Parliament relating to the Security of the Succession look'd into since, and their Defects cured; by which it appears, that the Succession was not so safe as was generally imagin'd: A Bill for Naturalizing

lizing the Princess of *Sophia* and her Issue, and another to establish a Regency (in Case of the Queen's Demise) sent down to the House of Commons, which those that fram'd and consented to, thought, no doubt, a Security to the Succession: And yet there was not the least Appearance of the Succession's being so much as thought of in Parliament, when this Proposal was made: So that not to enter into the Consideration, how far these Experiments will be a Security if they prove, as they are thought, great ones; he that gave the Occasion and Rise to them, sure only for that, cannot deserve to be thus treated.

But I fear there are other Reasons that have raised some Persons Spleen; some, perhaps, are angry to have heard it said were it was, *That there was so great a Favourite as the Duke of Buckingham, in King James I. his Time, who (as the Spanish Ambassador told his Majesty) had besieged him, had enclosed him with his Vassals and Servants, and would suffer no one else to have his Majesty's Ear, or so much as come near his Presence: And yet that great Man never had half that Power and Favour, that we see some Persons now possessed of.*

They care not to hear Taxes laid upon all Court-preferments, or of Persons being so fat with Favour and great Offices, as make them insensible of the pressing Necessity a great Part of the Nation labours under.

Others do not like it should be said, *That whenever there is a Dispute between a Parliament and a Minister, either the Minister will be too hard for the Parliament, and there's an End of your Constitution; or the Parliament will be too hard for your Minister, and there's an End of your Minister.*

But

But for the Author of the *Review*, 'tis impossible he should ever be hearty for inviting the Princess of *Hannover* hither, even from the very Foot he puts it ; for if the presumptive Heir ought not to be invited hither, (as he says) till the Press is restrained by Law, that virulent Lampoons, Memorials, and the like, may not swarm every Day in the Street ; one in his Circumstances would soon be reduced to a starving Condition.

I should have said no more on this last Head, having formerly, more than once, given the World an Account, not only of the Security to the Constitution, but of the Advantages the Nation would have by their presumptive Heir to the Crown residing here: Were it not for some very extravagant and dangerous Expressions of this Pamphleeter, (which one would wonder should, not have been taken Notice of before now in another manner) he says, *He cannot foresee the Security of the Queen from the Heir's being at their Elbow*: And for fear these dark Terms should not be truly understood, but lie hid, as he calls it, like the Poyson of Asps under the Tongue ; in another Place, (*Rev. Numb. 115. Page 460.*) he spits the Venom out, and tells the World plainly, — “ Such is the Corruption of Mankind, and “ the general Depravation has spread to such a “ Height ; Nature has receiv'd such a universal “ Taint, that Jealousies have spread into the nearest Relations ; Fathers have been jealous of their “ own Children ; and we have some Instances even “ of Men murdering their own Flesh and Blood “ on these Accounts, besides what we find among “ the Turks. — And if I should instance very “ near home, I have such Authority on my side “ as few People question.

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This

This is such a groundless two-edged Scandal, and published at such a Conjunction, that no Man, I think, can read, without Abhorrence.

The next Thing I am charg'd with, is, a *heightning of the Miscarriages of the War*, rendring our *Allies suspected*, and loading the *Dutch and Imperialists*, as if they had betray'd and abandon'd us.

But the very stating Matter of Fact is enough to wipe off this Scandal. There were two great Attempts design'd (besides the passing the *French Lines*) this last Campaign worthy the Conduct of our General, viz. That on the *Moselle*, and that at *Overisch*; had either of which succeeded, it had soon put an End to this chargeable War; and that they did not succeed, is known to every body: I would then ask any Man, To whom are these two Disappointments to be imputed? The Answer to this Question, I doubt not, would clear me from all the malicious Insinuations of this insolent Scribler. Is it possible for any Man to imagine the Duke of *M.* would have march'd the grand Army some hundred Miles, upon a Design he knew he was not strong enough to put in execution, without the Assistance of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden's* Army, which he must have depended upon? Can any Man think, that Matter was not first concerted? And if so, whence was it, that when the D. of *M.* had covered that Prince from the *French*, he was not join'd by him, as was expected? By which Conjunction *Saar Louis*, which the *French* left uncover'd, had fall'n into our Hands, and a free and easie Passage open'd into *France*; and for want of which, a very promising Design was totally defeated; (and as the *Reviewer* confesses) our Affairs had a bad Aspect at the unhappy Baulk at the *Moselle*.

Again,

Again, in the Business of *Overisch*, did not the Dutch Deputies march near three Days in Company with the D. of *M.* and in all that time did they ever make any Exception against the Design? Yet, when it came to be put in execution, when a fair Opportunity offer'd, and Victory in a manner courted us, there not being half the Danger and Difficulty there, as at *Bleinheim*; Could any Arguments perswade them to consent to venture a Battle? Have not the Letters of the D. of *M.* and Monsieur *Auverkerque* been made publick? And was there not a Book, call'd, *The Dutch Politicks examin'd*, &c. — Printed before the Parliament met, that carries this Matter much higher than ever I did, which I never yet heard was answer'd? And must I only not be allow'd to speak of such Things without lying under the Lash of a scandalous Pen, and look'd upon as an Enemy to the Confederates? But the most wonderful Part of all this is, that those Persons, who before were so full of these Matters, that they could scarce forbear shewing their Resentment of the Usage the D. of *M.* met with, have ever since this was mention'd by me, made it their Business to give it a quite different Turn. However, let this Snarler, or those who employ him, be as angry as they please; when I read the joint Address of both Houses of Parliament, (which he might have been more ingenious than to have mangl'd as he has done) and read how earnestly they intreat Her Majesty, *By all proper Means to excite the whole Confederacy to make early and effectual Preparations, and to exert their utmost Vigour in the Prosecution of the War against France*; I must be of Opinion, that they had very good Grounds for what they did, which sufficiently justifies me.

There is one Thing more, which is so very ridiculous, 'tis scarce worth Notice, viz. how this learned Critick labours, and is put to it, to bring the Business of *Barcelona* within the Construction of what I said. 'Tis so common a Rule, that Words are to be understood according to their Subject-matter, there is scarce a School-boy who does not know it: And from the beginning to the end of that Speech, there is not the least Intimation or Glance of any thing done in *Spain*. But 'tis all one to him whether that be so or not, he never considered the Grammatical Construction of Words; but, right or wrong, the World is to be told, That *I throw black Scandals upon, and contradict my Lord P——h, the King of Spain's Letter, the Queen's Speech, &c. and prevaricate the Fact, that the Paper is a Libel, and deserves to be burnt by the Hangman.*

Thus he has drest up a Man of Straw of his own, and then lays about him most unmercifully; he might as well have brought in the Czar of *Muscovy*, and the King of *Sweden's* Wars within the Compass of these Words, *Thus ended the Campaign, as our Operations in Catalonia.* I could not look towards *Barcelona* and forget *Portugal*, from whence I have seen a Letter giving an Account how *Monsieur Fagel*, at the Head of 20000 Men, very quietly let the *Mareschal de Thesse*, with 8000 Men, (which he might have easily cut in pieces) march within Pistol-shot of him, and relieve the Town of *Badajox*, and how kindly he was received at home upon his return, is well known.

I shall say no more at present, but leave it to the Judgment of any indifferent and impartial Reader, how far by that Speech I have push'd on any specious Sham to byass the ignorant and honest People in my Favour, or how far I have been treated, as any Man might expect. In

In short, tho' no Man rejoyces more in our Successes every where than my self, yet I cannot but remember, that it often happens in War as in Races, where sometimes those that win a Heat may lose the Plate; which I heartily wish may never be our Case.

And as for those who set this Person at Work, however they have made a Shift, thinking to keep up their Reputation with some, which they have lost with others, yet they are so well known, that they are not to be long trusted by either, and when-ever it shall happen, they have nothing but their own Merit and Interest to support them, I doubt not but they will find their own Reputation as low in the World as they endeavour to make that of others: And, in the meantime, their present Fears, Unsteadiness, and Mistrust, of every Body, make them not only very uneasy to themselves, but the very Contempt and Property of those they depend on.

There are two other Points, which the Limits of this Paper will but just give me leave to mention, viz, *Liberty of Speech in Parliament, and the present State of Affairs in Holland with relation to Trade, and the Expence of the present War*: As to the first of these, I should think my self *Felo-de-se*, should I go to dispute it: And for the second, it were very easie for me to show the Advantages the *Dutch* have over us at this Time in the Point of Commerce. And whenever a just Account is given of what Remittances, Bullion, and Money in Specie, have been sent to *Holland* this War, (which I would be very glad to see) that Matter, I am confident, will appear, as evident as that the Species of our Coin lessens daily, whilst that of the *Dutch* increases. But it would be very well for *England*, if no just Occasions were given to take further Notice of this Matter.

Observations of His Lordship, upon several Occurrences from the Beginning of Her Majesty's Reign, (to the Day of his Death) by way of Memoranda.

ON the Death of King WILLIAM, I was inolinable to have come into any Measures with His Successor, and had all imaginable Reasons to think that the New Ministry would have carefully avoided the Rocks which the Old had Split upon; accordingly made my Visits and went to Court, not without abundance of good Words from those who had the Power in their Hands; But when I found in the year 1702, that the Instruments of our Mismanagements were only chang'd, and the Grievances continued, I thought it my Duty to oppose such Practices as seem'd to me of the worst Consequence, and exerted my Power to the utmost in discountenancing what might be prejudicial to the Publick Good, in giving my Voice against the Occasional Conformity Bill, which would have been prejudicial to the Common Interest.

In 1703 I did what in me lay to prevent that Bill from making any advance in the House of Peers, and joyn'd in a certain Consultation over the Water, where it amaz'd me to see some certain Persons, that seemingly Espous'd and voted for it, make Interest against it: But my joyning with them did

did not Hinder me from opposing their *Exorbitance of Power* in Parliament, and calling in Question some Excesses which I had but too great Grounds to believe had crept into the Treasury.

In 1704. A Certain great Man with a white Staff made some advances to me which I could not in Conscience accept, nor I believe He for want of it have made good ; but I happily avoided the Snare that was laid for me, and help'd to give the finishing Stroke to the Death of the *Occasional Bill*, for which I had that Persons Thanks whom I before mention'd, but only from the Teeth outward.

In 1705. the D. of D. pay'd me a Visit, and talk'd to me about making my Peace with some Courtiers in Order to Preferment ; but I told him there must be a thorough Change, not a Removal of Three or Four, before I could venture into the Service.

In 1706. I appear'd against the Union with all the Force I was Master of, as being of Opinion at that Time, that it would be prejudicial to the *English* Interest, as well as the Privileges of the *Scots* Peerage. And finding several Gentlemen that wear Lawn, violent in extirpating Episcopacy out of *Scotland*, had the better Opinion of such of their Bench as were for a Toleration for Episcopal Dissenters, and ever after voted along with them.

In 1707. I made a Resolution with my self to be a constant Communicant of the Church Establish'd by Law, and whereas I had before entertain'd none almost but the Dissenting Clergy at my House, I from thenceforward was in Confidence with none but those of a contrary Opinion, and was for searching into the real Causes of the *Pretender's* intended Invasion, not such as
were

were fictitious, and bore little Resemblance to Truth, but in this, as in many other Instances of my Zeal, to detect ill Practices, was over-rul'd.

In 1708. I laid the ill Condition of our Garrisons, and Forts in *Scotland* before the Parliament; but thro' the Interest of some People more powerful than my self, might as well have made no manner of Enquiry, which being sensible of, I concurr'd with the rest of my Fellow Peers in giving Money to the rising of the Parliament.

In 1709. I thank God for illuminating my Understanding so as to make me speak up in Defence of injur'd Innocence, and the Church Establish'd, which I purpose to live and die in, and inspiring me with Sentiments as foretold the Addresses from all Parts in Vindication of Her Majesty's Hereditary Title, the Change of the Ministry, and the Dissolution of that Parliament; and for giving me Grace to support my self under the Loss of a Second Wife, who was unjustly dealt with as to Her Reputation.

In 1710. I have the Satisfaction to see Elections from all Parts agreeable to the Confidence the *Queen* has plac'd in the Affections of her People, and trust in the Divine Mercy to see such Methods and Operations brought to pass by a perfect Harmony between both Houses of Parliament, as will put such Officers into the Hands of Justice, that have any ways misapply'd the publick Treasures, or abus'd the Trust repos'd in them, that Commerce and Plenty may once more enrich this poor suffering *Island*, and Righteousness and Peace again walk Hand in Hand together.

SPEECHES

SPEECHES

IN

PARLIAMENT

By the Late

Ld. Haversham,

Upon several OCCASIONS.

With the PROCEEDINGS
thereupon, &c.

THE Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, having past the House of Commons on the 7th of December 1703, after it had been lost in the Preceding Year on Account of several Amendments made by the Lords, it was accordingly brought up to the House of Peers by Mr. Bromley, who left it with their Lordships, for their Concurrence: But tho' it had a very quick and easy Passage thro' the Lower House, it hardly got to a Second Reading in the Upper, when after the Bishop of Salisbury had made a
B long

long Harangue against the Bill, the Lord *Haver-*
sham seconded him after this Manner.

MY LORDS,

I Am very little personally concern'd in this Bill: I have no Office, I expect none, nor do I desire any; and yet I pay as much Duty to Her Majesty, and wish as well to Her Government, *as those that have half a Dozen.*

I shall not, my Lords, enter into the Consideration of the Justice or Injustice of this Bill, whether a Man may be depriv'd of what he has a Legal Right to, without any Forfeiture on his Part. Tho', in my Opinion he may, because private Right is always to give Way to publick Safety; and nothing else can justify one of the Best Bills that ever was made for the Security of the *Protestant* Religion, I mean the Test Act. But this is not the Case here; the Persons affected by this Bill are such as have been always serviceable to the Government, and are some of the best Friends to it.

Nor shall I trouble your Lordships to shew, that the great Enemies to the State do not so much consider you, as you are three different Nations, but as you are an imbodyed People under one Sovereign. Neither does the Church of *Rome* so much oppose you, as consider'd under the Notion of Church of *England*, *Occasional Conformists*, or *Dissenter*, but as you are Part of the Northern Heresy, as you deny the Supremacy, Infallibility, and assert the Idolatry of their Church. They have no more Affection for any of those Perswasions than for another, but equally design the Ruin of us all.

But, my Lords, that which I shall strictly speak to, is the Point of Time in which this Bill visits you, and in my Opinion it could never
have

have come in a more unseasonable and more dangerous Juncture. I hope your Lordships will not think I wander from the Subject of the Debate, if I shew you a little the present Posture of Affairs, as so many Arguments that at least will, I hope, justify me for giving my Vote against a second Reading of this Bill.

First, my Lords, if we consider what a Potent, what a Vigilant Adversary we have to struggle with, of the *French King*, a Prince whose Designs are laid upon the greatest Maturity of Deliberation, carry'd on with the greatest Secrecy, and executed with the greatest Dispatch: There is no unsteadiness in his Councils, his Troops are never surpriz'd, his Designs are never betray'd, his Attempts never disappointed by either the Emulation, Envy, or private Piques of his great Generals. He can bring his Armies sooner into the Field, and keep them longer there than we can; can do more with a small Part, after we are gone into Winter Quarters, than we can with the main Body of ours in the whole Campaign, and that too, when they are Commanded by a General, that has Retriev'd the Glory of the English Nation. Sure, my Lords, all Heads, all Hearts, are little enough against such an Enemy.

In the next Place, my Lords, what heavy Taxes lie upon us here at Home, without any Hope of Ease, and very little Expectation of Advantage. The Reason why Men cheerfully undergo such Burthens is, because they expect some publick Advantage by them, or, at least, that they may enjoy the Remainder with Security: But when they have no Prospect from what is given, and are not secure of enjoying what is left, it will come very hard. We have, my Lords, given great Sums, the last Year, for the Army; but what great Matter have we done? For my own Part, I think no man can reason-

ably expect more from what we are now raising this Year, than to meet again here next Winter, and give more, — and so on.

And as to our Navy, what a vast and fruitless Expence we have been at? I confess to your Lordships, when I consider these two Heads, it puts me in mind of Old Jacob's Prophecy of his Son Issachar, in the 49th Chapter of Genesis. Issachar is a strong Ass, couching under two Burthens; he bowed his Shoulders to bear, and became a Servant to Tribute. I believe this Prophecy has been fulfilled elsewhere.

Was there ever such an Expedition undertaken, as that in the *Streights* the last Summer? I could never yet meet with that Man who could give a reasonable Account of it. Sure no Man will say that it was to carry on your Trade. That was to put the Nation to a Million Expence to carry on Three or Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, and make a kind of Necessity for as much more to bring it home again. Nor will any Man, I think, own that so great a Force was sent thither to make the *Italian Princes* declare for the *Emperor*, and then leave them to the Mercy of the *French*. 'Tis very true, so vast a Fleet plainly shew'd *How Formidable a Power the Confederates were by Sea*, but sure it shew'd also, the *Weakness of our Conduct*, that knew so little what to do with it.

But there is one Thing, my Lords, that above all amazes me. Every Body knows that the Foundation of all our Expectations and Designs of placing the House of *Austria* on the Throne of *Spain*, is laid on the Assistance we expect from *Portugal*. We know too, by the Manner of that Prince's Conduct, and Treatment with us, that no Prince is govern'd more by Interest. Why then was not a great Part of so vast a Fleet left there to Countenance and Secure Him?

Sure

Sure 'tis unaccountable that he should have any just Cause to apprehend himself either forgotten or neglected. No Man knows what *Difficulties* or *Delays* may force him to.

A noble Lord with a white Staff (the Lord Godolphin) gave it as a Reason, why, *tho' he was against the bringing in of this Bill, yet, since it had pass'd another Place, he was for it; because the not passing of it now, he fear'd would create great Disturbance in our Affairs,* which I take to be a great Reason against the Bill. For 'tis very well known, the *Leading Part* of the Nation are most concern'd in it; and if this Bill should pass, the sad Effects of it would soon be found in the Exchequer.

Besides all this, *my Lords* what great and irreparable Losses have we had! The Parliament may vote *Money*, and *Money* my build Ships, *but 'tis impossible to recover our Seamen, nor is there any Encouragement to them, or Nursery for them.*

There is one Thing more, *my Lords*, which I will at present but Name; because upon some other Occasion I intend to speak more on that Point. It may, perhaps, seem too big to be nam'd, but I shall never think any thing so, that may prove dangerous to the Crown and Government. *It is the extraordinary Favour of one or two Persons: A thing that has been very fatal to the Royal Family, and what has been, may be.* I will only, in short, say, when all the Favour is bestowed upon *one or two* Persons, when all the Power by Sea and Land is either virtually or openly in *one* Hand, when all the Offices, like a set of Locks, are commanded by one *Master-Key*, I pray God it never again prove fatal both to Crown and Country.

Give me leave only to recapitulate, and say, whether your Lordships consider the present Posture of Affairs, either at Home or Abroad, in
a Court

a Court or Camp, I can never think this a proper time for Such a BILL.

After his *Lordship* had done, several other *Peers* spoke Loud against the Bill, in particular, the Duke of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Lords *Molun*, *Ferrers*, and *Wharton*. The last of which, to shew the Unseasonableness of it, took Notice of the Distracted Condition of *Scotland*, the Number and Insolence of the *Papists* in *Ireland*, adding, they ought rather to imitate the Parliament of the latter Kingdom in their Zeal against *Popery*, than to frame persecuting Laws against the *Protestant Dissenters* here. Upon the whole, the Issue of the Debate was, that the Bill, after being read Twice, was upon the Question Put, whether it should be read a third Time, rejected by a Majority of Eleven Voices.

On the 20th of November 1704.

His Lordship having made known to the House of *Peers*, that He had something of great Moment to acquaint them with, three Days after He apply'd Himself to them in a full Assembly, on the 23d following, after this Manner.

My LORDS,

I Am very sensible to what Censure He exposes Himself, who Addresses your Lordships in such a Manner, at such a Time: But this being the only proper Place for me to mention what I have to offer of Complaint, I the more confidently hope for your Lordships Forgiveness.

I would be far from detracting or lessening any Man's just Praise, and do really believe, that the wonderful Victory obtain'd over the French, under

under the *Conduct* and *Command* of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, if consider'd in all its Circumstances, especially the *unusual Secrefie* with which the Orders were Executed, is the greatest any History can shew us.

And tho' our Success at Sea was not equal to what it was at Land, yet the *English* Courage and Bravery shew'd it self the same. I cannot indeed congratulate Sir *George Rook's* entire *Victory* over the French, but I can, and do most heartily, *His safe Deliverance* from Them, and that with a Fleet so *unprovided*, and so *weaken'd* by Five or Six *Dutch* Ships being call'd Home a little before the Engagement, seems to me a considerable Piece of Service. To say more would look like Flattery, and to say less would be unjust.

My LORDS,

The Navy of *England* is its Glory, and its Guard; 'tis that which should protect our Trade, and secure our Coasts. Your Lordships were so Sensible of this, that you recommended these two Heads to Her Majesty, in Two Addresses last Session, *full of Respect, and yet very pressing*; but we have been so far from receiving the Fruits we expected from your Lordships Care, that whoever will but take a View of what was done last Summer, will see our Coasts left naked, and our Trade expos'd; *St. Paul* riding in the Channel, and our Merchants so far from being protected, that even our Men of War themselves are taken in our Soundings. And what sharpens our Misfortunes is, to see our Enemies making Use of *Our own* Ships against us, and to be provided with their very Naval Stores from us, as the Count *de Thoulouze's* Squa-

Squadron was, if an *Eye-Witness* thereof now at the Door may be believ'd.

My LORDS,

Let our Victories be what they will a shore, while *France* is thus Powerful at Sea, and more so daily, not only by His new Additions, but by our too easy Concessions, as were those of *St. Christophers*, *Newfoundland*, and *Hudson's Bay*: While our Trade is thus neglected, and your Lordships faithful and provident Advice baffled by the dark Counsels of no Body knows who, ENGLAND, in my Opinion, can never be safe.

Another thing that I shall take notice of is, the *Present State of the Coin*, and I dare venture to say, that if such vast *Exportations* be much longer continued and allow'd, we shall have very little left at Home. *France* may be beaten, but *England* must be begger'd. I know we are not so sensible of this, because there is a *Paper Money* now Current; but should there ever happen to be a stop there, I pray God preserve us from sinking all at once.

The last Thing that I shall mention to your Lordships, is with Relation to *Scotland*. I think I need but lay before your Lordships the true Matter of Fact, to convince you how much it deserves your Consideration. A little before the last sitting down of the Parliament there, it was thought necessary to make some Alteration in that Ministry, and accordingly some were displac'd, to make Room for others, taking some from each Party, who might influence the Rest. Things being thus prepared, and a *Morly Ministry* set up, the Parliament met about the 6th of *July* last; and tho' the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line was
the

the *main Thing*, recommended with the greatest Earnestness by the Queen in Her Letter to them, yet was it so *postpon'd* and *baffled*, that at length it came to nothing, partly, because the Ministry was so weak and divided, that instead of doing *every Thing*, they could do *nothing*; and partly from a receiv'd Opinion, that the Succession it self was never sincerely and cordially intended, either by the Ministry *there*, or by those that *manag'd the Scotch Affairs here*.

This is evident; for at the opening of the Session, my Lord Secretary himself distinguishes between a *secret* and a *reveal'd Will*. And not only that, but upon the 4th Sederunt (as they call it) a Motion was made for a *Bill of Exclusion*: I take it formally to be so, tho' it bears the Title of an *Act of Security*, which was read the First Time on the Seventh, and order'd to lie on the Table, till they heard from *England*, and on the Tenth it pass'd into a Law. Nor can any reasonable Man believe, that those who promoted a *Bill of Exclusion* there, or those who here advis'd the passing of it, could ever be really and cordially for the English Succession. I know there is an Exception in the Act it self, but 'tis such a one as might have full as well been left out; for he that asks what he knows before will never be granted, asks the Denial: And yet this is not all, but in the very *Bill of Exclusion*, as I call it, all the *Heretors and Boroughs* are not only allowed, but ordain'd (as the Word is) to be *Armed*, and to exercise their Fenceable Men once every Month.

This being the Fact, (and I think I have stat'd it very truly) surely, my Lords, it is what deserves your Consideration, and I shall make but one or two Observations to your Lordships. There are two Matters of all Trouble, much *Discontent* and great *Poverty*, and whoever will

now look into *Scotland*, will find them both in that Kingdom. 'Tis certain, *the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland* are as learned and as brave as any Nation in Europe can boast of; and these are generally discontented. And as to the *Common People*, they are very Numerous and very stout, but very Poor. And who is that Man, who can answer what such a Multitude, so arm'd, so disciplin'd, with such Leaders, may do, especially since Opportunities do so much alter Men from themselves? And there will never be wanting all the Promises, and all the Assistance France can give.

Besides this, *my Lords*, I take it to be of the last Danger to *ENGLAND*, that there should be the least shadow or pretence of a Necessity to keep up Regular and standing Troops in this Kingdom in Time of Peace, for I shall always be of the same Opinion, that what has been, may be.

In short, *my Lords*, I think every Man wishes these Things had not been, and in my Opinion, there is no Man but must say, they should not have been. I shall end with an Advice of my Lord Bacon: 'Let Men, says he, beware how they neglect or suffer matters of Trouble to be prepar'd, for no Man can forbid the Sparks that may set all on Fire.

If any Thing I have said deserves it, your Lordships will take it into your Consideration; if not, I am sure I ought to ask a Thousand Pardons for so long Abuse of your Patience.

'The Lords were variously affected with this Speech, which, tho' it was generally approv'd as to what relates to the *Scotch Affairs*, yet it was as unwelcome to, as it was unexpected by such, who at that Time would needs attribute all our Successes abroad, and
'Prospect

' Prosperity at Home, to the Ministry then in
 ' Being, who were reflected upon in it. To
 ' this we may add, that some Peers thought it
 ' derogatory to the Glory of the Duke of
 ' Marlborough, that Prince Eugene should be
 ' nam'd before him, in the Mention of an
 ' Action, in which they would have had that
 ' Prince been thought to have Acted but a
 ' second Part. However, this Speech was se-
 ' conded by the Earls of Rochester and Not-
 ' tingham, the First of whom did, in particular,
 ' lament the Ill-Consequences of the Exportation
 ' of our Coin, and very pathetically and justly
 ' insisted on the Necessity of putting a stop to it.
 ' But the Business of Scotland being thought to
 ' be the most material Part of the Speech, the
 ' 29th of November was appointed to consider
 ' of it, upon which Day the Queen went to
 ' the House of Peers, both to hear their De-
 ' bates, and to prevent Heats by Her Royal
 ' Presence. As to the main Business of that
 ' Day, the two Earls aforesaid urged the Ill-
 ' Consequences of the Act of Security pass'd in
 ' England. To which it being answer'd, that if
 ' that ACT had not been granted, there might have
 ' been Danger of a Rebellion in that Kingdom. It was
 ' replyed, that if the Scots had rebell'd, they would
 ' have rebell'd without Arms; whereas if they had a
 ' Mind to rebel now, this ACT had legally supplied
 ' them with Necessaries, to maintain their Rebellion.
 ' Others among the Lords represented, that as
 ' skilful Physicians, and wise Legislators, they
 ' ought rather to apply present Remedies to a
 ' known Evil, than to lose Time in enquiring
 ' how it might have been prevented. In Fine,
 ' the Debates upon this Head ended in these
 ' Resolutions. That the Best Method to pre-
 ' vent the Inconveniencies which might happen
 ' by the Act of Security, &c. in Scotland, was

by making such Laws here, as should disable
Scotchmen from enjoying the Privileges of
English Subjects, except such as were settled
 in this Kingdom, in *Ireland* and the Planta-
 tions, and such as were or should be in the
English Service by Land or Sea, till an Union
 was had, or the Succession settled as in
England. Pursuant to which, an Address
 was presented to Her Majesty, by the An-
 swer to which, his Lordship may be truly said,
 in the foregoing Speech to have had an
 unconstrain'd Influence on the Majority of the
 Peers.

A SPEECH upon the *State of the Nation*,
 in 1705.

The House of Lords having fix'd upon the
 15th of *November* 1705, to consider of the
 State of the Nation, Her Majesty being pre-
 sent, the Lord *Haversham* open'd the Debate
 in these Words.

My LORDS,

I T may perhaps be expected, since I mov'd to
 you the *State of the Nation*, that I should
 say somewhat to you upon this Occasion; and
 tho' I never labour'd under more difficulties than
 I do at present yet being conscious to my self
 of a Heart full of Loyalty and Duty to Her Ma-
 jesty, and Zeal for Her Service, as is possible for
 any Subject to have; and knowing, that the
 best way of preserving Liberty of Speech in Par-
 liament, is to make use of it, I will mention Three or
 Four General Heads to your Lordships, and speak
 to them with a great deal of Freedom and
 Plainness.

The

The first Thing I shall speak to, is, the *present Confederate War* in which we are engag'd: And because the best way of judging what we may reasonably expect for the future, is to consider the Actions that are pass'd, give me leave to take a little notice to your Lordships of the *Operations of the last Campaign*: I shall not say much of our *forcing the French Lines, and our beating the French Troops afterwards* (tho' that was a very great and brave Action); but because there was such a *Mixture of Victory and Misfortune*; and that this is such a chequer'd Piece, I purposely forbear taking further notice of it.

But there were two other Actions, which I think take in your whole Campaign, the *March of our Army to the Moselle, and the Business of OVERISCH*; in both which, give me leave to say (not to give it a harder Term) *I think we were not used as we might have reasonably expected*. Our GENERAL with a great deal of Conduct, covered Prince Lewis of Baden's Army; nor can it be doubted, he might easily have join'd us, if he had pleased, without the least Danger from the *French*; which if he had done, (by the best Account I could ever get, and I think I have a very true one) we had been at least *Five and Twenty Thousand stronger than the Enemy there*. But being disappointed of being join'd by Prince Lewis, and of the Assistance we expected from him, that great Design proved Abortive.

The next was the *Business of Overisch*, where, by the Conduct of my Lord Duke of Marlborough, we had a fair Opportunity of putting an End to the War at once. But the Duke held our Hand, and would not let Us give the deciding Blow.

Dutch

Thus

Thus ended your Campaign, tho' it began with more promising hopes of Success than this next I believe will. You had then to deal with an Enemy, whose Councils were Distracted, whose Troops were Broke, and the Courage of his Army Sunk.

From all this give me leave to conclude, that it is neither Men nor Money, Courage nor Conduct, that are the only Things to carry on a successful Confederate War.

Those who Command your Army, are Men of that Bravery, and every Common Soldier hath so much Courage, that no equal number of Men in the World, I think, can Stand before them; but let our Supplies be never so full and speedy, let our Management be never so great and frugal, yet if it be our Misfortune to have Allies that are as Slow and Backward, as we are Zealous and Forward; that hold our Hands, and suffer Us not to take any Opportunity that Offers; that are coming into the Field, when we are going into Winter Quarters; I cannot see what it is we are reasonably to expect.

The next Thing I shall take the Liberty to speak to, is the Point of Trade. Every one sees how our Merchants go off daily, and how low the Trade of this Nation at present is. I know, my Lords, there is a Word we are very fond of, which we call the Ballance of Power; but the Dutch, who are a very Wise People, have a double View, and take as much care of the Ballance of TRADE, as they do of the Ballance of POWER; and are as fearful of our Power at Sea, as of the Power of France by Land. My Lords, the best Knowledge of Things, is by the Causes: 'Tis Trade begets Wealth, as Wealth begets Power, and it seems very hard for England, that while the Dutch live at Peace under the Protection of our Arms; We, if we will have any Part of Trade with

with them, must have it under the *Protection* of their *Passes*; But it will be much harder, if after their having the Advantage of a *Trading War*, we should make a *Tradeless Peace*.

I know, my Lords, the Dutch generally complain they are very Poor; but give me leave to say, I cannot see how they have been out of Pocket one Shilling since this War; for they have more by Remittances, and Money from England, than all the Money that goes out of their Country to Portugal, Savoy, and the German Princes.

There is one Thing more, which I take to be of the greatest Importance to us All. 'Tis this I had chiefly in my Intention; and with which I shall conclude what I have to say.

But before I come to it, give me leave to take Notice of one Thing to your Lordships. My Lords, 'Tis the Happiness of England, and that which ever did, and ever will keep the greatest Ministers in Awe; that by the Law and Custom of Parliament, the meanest Member of either House, has undoubted Right to debate on any Subject, and to speak his Thoughts with all Freedom, without being liable to be call'd in Question by any Person whatever, till the Parliament it self hath taken Notice of them. This is grounded on the greatest Equity and Reason, because, that which concerns All, should be debated by All: Nor is it possible for a Parliament to Debate, or come to a clear Resolution on any Question, or to give Advice to Her Majesty, as they ought, without this Freedom. I give good Authority to justify what I say; Sir Robert Atkins (Fol. 54.) in his Treatise of the Power and Privilege of Parliaments, tells us of the Case of one Sir Thomas Haxey, in the Time of King Richard the Second, who having deliver'd a Petition to the King, with which he was displeas'd. The King sent to the Speaker to know who it was that deliver'd that Petition;

tion ; by which, says Sir Robert, it is apparent, the King cannot take Notice of any thing done in Parliament, (*He names the House of Commons*) but as it is represented to Him by the House it self.

Having said this, give me leave to read to your Lordships a Paragraph of Her Majesty's Speech to Her last Parliament last Year. *My Lords and Gentlemen, We have, by the Blessing of God, a fair Prospect of this great and desirable End ; if We do not disappoint it, by our own unreasonable Humour and Animosity, the fatal Effects of which, We have so narrowly escaped in this Session, that it ought to be a sufficient Warning against any Dangerous Experiments for the future.*

I shall not go about to shew the Grammatical Construction of these Words, but chuse rather to say, that as we enjoy many Blessings under Her Majesty's happy Government, so I hope we shall have this too, *That Her Majesty will never give Ear to any secret, and private Information ; but as it comes to Her in a Parliamentary way, by the Houses Themselves.*

The last Thing, my Lords, is that which I take to be of the greatest Concernment to us All, both Queen and People. I love to speak very plain, and shall do so in this Point.

My Lords, *I think there can be nothing more for the safety of the Queen, for the Preservation of our Constitution, for the security of the Church, and for the Advantage of us All ; than if the Presumptive Heir to the Crown, according to the Act of Settlement, in the Protestant Line, should be here amongst us.* 'Tis very plain, that nothing can be more for the Security of any Throne, than to have a Number of Successors round about it, whose Interest is always to Defend the Possessor from any Danger, and prevent any attempt against Him, and Revenge any Injury done Him. Is there
any

any Man, my Lords, who doubts that if *the Duke of Gloucester had been now alive, Her Majesty had not been more secure than She is?* We cannot think of that Misfortune without the greatest Grief; but yet we are not to neglect our own Safety; and tho' a Successor be not the Child of the Prince, yet is *He the Child of the Queen and the People.*

Besides, my Lords, the Heats and Differences which are amongst us, make it very Necessary, that we should have *the Presumptive Heir residing here: The Duty and Respect we pay Her Majesty, and the Authority of the Law, can hardly keep us in Peace and Union amongst our selves at present; what then may we not fear when these Bonds shall ever happen to be broken?*

And would it not be a great Advantage to the Church, for the *Presumptive Heir, to be personally acquainted with the Right Reverend the Prelates?* Nay, would it not be an Advantage to all *England; that whenever the Successor comes over, He should not bring a Flood of Foreigners along with Him to eat up and devour the Good of the Land?*

I will say no more to your Lordships, but conclude with this Motion; *That an Humble Address be presented to Her Majesty by this House, that Her Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to Invite the Presumptive Heir to the Crown of England, according to the Acts of Parliament made for settling the Succession of the Crown, in the Protestant Line, into this Kingdom, to reside here.*

' This Motion was back'd by several Lords,
' but oppos'd by a great Majority, so that after a
' Debate of Four Hours, the Question being
' put, whether the *Princess Sophia should be sent*
' *for over into England, or not?* The previous
' Question was put, Whether that Question
' should be put? Carried in the Negative: How-
' ever, some Lords who were for inviting the
D Princess

Princess *Sophia* to come over, enter'd their Pro-
 test; and tho' the greatest Part of the House
 of Peers were against this Invitation, yet they
 so far concurr'd with the Tendency of this
 Speech, and carried without dividing on the
 19th of the same Month, the Queen again Pre-
 sent, that a Bill should be brought in, for the
 better Security of Her Majesty's Person and Go-
 vernment, and of the Succession to the Crown of En-
 gland, in the Protestant Line, &c. and at the
 same time, order'd another Bill to be brought
 in for Naturalizing such of the Illustrious House of
 Hannover, as were Protestants.

The 15th of February, 1706, being a Day
 appointed to consider of the Union of the
 Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; the
 House of Lords resolv'd themselves into a
 Grand Committee, and the Bishop of *Salisbury*
 being call'd upon by the *Earl of Sunderland* to
 take the Chair, the Debate on the first Article
 was open'd by the *Earl of Rochester*, who ac-
 quainted their Lordships, He had many things
 to object to several of those Articles, which, He said,
 was all one to Him, whether their Lordships
 would be pleas'd to receive them now, or when
 those Articles came more properly under their Consi-
 deration. The *Earl of Anglesey*, likewise mov'd,
 that the first Article might be post-pon'd, it being
 impossible for him, to give his Vote to it,
 before he knew, and was thoroughly satisfied, wherein
 the Union was to Consist. Several others were
 of the same Opinion, among whom, in par-
 ticular, were the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, and
 the *Earl of Nottingham*, who excepted against
 the Name of *Great Britain*, by alledging 'twas
 such an Innovation in the Monarchy, as totally
 subverted all the Laws of *England*; and there-
 fore mov'd that the JUDGES might give their
 Opinion about it; which accordingly they did
 by

‘ by this Declaration : That they could not
 ‘ conceive that it any way altered, or impaired
 ‘ the Constitution of the Realm, whose Laws,
 ‘ they were of Opinion, must remain entirely *the*
 ‘ *same, as well after, as before the Union, except*
 ‘ *such as were altogether Inconsistent with, and di-*
 ‘ *rectly contrary thereto ; which being enter’d in*
 ‘ the Journals of the House ; The Lord *Haver-*
 ‘ *sham* Seconded my Lord of *Rocheſter*, by ſpeaking
 ‘ thus :

MY LORDS,

W H A T my Noble Lord has mentioned to
 your Lordſhips, occasions my ſtanding
 up : I find my ſelf under the ſame Difficulties,
 I have ſeveral Things to ſay to this Matter
 of the Union to your Lordſhips ; and ’tis very
 indifferent to me when I offer them. *I have a*
Right of ſpeaking my Thoughts, and entering my Pro-
teſt too, to any thing I diſlike, and I ſhall certainly
find ſome Time to do ſo before this matter can paſs
into a Law. I am in your Lordſhips Judgment,
 whether you will allow me to ſpeak what I have
 to ſay, now.

My Lords, With what Diſpoſition I came hi-
 ther, I hope may be evidenc’d by the Motion
 I made to your Lordſhips laſt Year, for repealing
certain Clauſes that were grievous to Scotland. I
 would do any thing that ſhould be for the Good
 of both Nations.

THEſE Articles came to your Lordſhips with the
 greateſt Countenance of Authority that I think
 any thing can come with : Your Commiſſioners
 have agreed to them ; the Scots Parliament has,
 with ſome few Amendments, ratified Them ; and
 the Queen Her ſelf from the Throne approves of
 Them ; and yet you muſt give me leave to ſay,
 that *AUTHORITY*, tho’ it be the ſtrongeſt

Motive to incline the WILL, is the weakest Argument in all the World to convince the UNDERSTANDING. 'Tis the Argument the Church of Rome makes use of for their Superstitious Worship, where there are Ten Ave-Maria's to one Pater-noster: Just as unreasonable, as if Ten times the Application and Address were made to a SHE FAVORITE, as to the Person of the Sovereign, which is a kind of State Idolatry.

I would not, my Lords, be misunderstood, as if I were against an Union. *A Federal Union, an Union of Interest, an Union in Succession, is what I shall always be for.* Nay, were it whether a People Inhabiting the same Island, speaking the same Language, and having the same Religion, should be under one and the same Form of Policy and Government; I cannot see how any Man could be against it; but this is a matter of a quite different Nature: It is, whether two Nations, Independent in their Sovereignities, that have their distinct Laws and Interests, and what I cannot forget, their different Forms of Worship, Church Government, and Order, should be united into one Kingdom.

An Union made up, in my Opinion, of so many mismatch'd Pieces, of such jarring incongruous Ingredients, that should it ever take Effect, I fear it would carry the necessary Consequence of a standing Power and Force, to keep us from falling asunder, and breaking in Pieces every Moment: For as my Lord Bacon well Observes (whom I take to have been a very great Man, tho' sometimes the Courtier got the better of the Philosopher.) *An Unity, says he, that is piec'd up by a direct Admission of Contraries, in the Fundamental Points of it, is like the Toes of Nebuchadnezzar's Image, which were made of Iron and Clay; they may cleave together, but can never incorporate.*

Another

Another Reason why I am against an *Incorporating Union* is, for the sake of the good Old English Constitution, justly allow'd to be the most equal and best poiz'd Government in all the World: *The peculiar Excellence of which lies, in that well proportion'd Distinction of Power; whereby the Greatness of the Monarch, and the Safety of the People are at once provided for. And it is a Maxim in all Policy, that the surest Way to preserve any Government, is by a strict Adherence to its Principles.* So that whilst this Ballance of Power is kept equal, the Constitution is safe: but who can answer what Alteration so great a Weight as *Sixty one Scots Members, and those too returned by a Scots Privy Council, when thrown into the Ballance, can make?*

Besides, *my Lords*, I must own I am apprehensive of the Precedent, and know not how far it may be carried hereafter, or what Alteration future Parliaments may think fit to make. It is Evident by the 22d Article, that *above a Hundred Scots Peers, and as many Commoners, are excluded from Sitting and Voting in the British Parliament; who perhaps as little thought of being so, a Year or two ago, as any of your Lordships do now; for they had as much Right by Inheritance of Sitting there, as any one Lord in this House has of Sitting here; and that Right too, as well and as strongly Fenc'd and Secur'd to them by the Fundamental Laws of their Kingdom, by Claim of Right, and Act of Parliament; which made it Treason to make any Alteration in the Constitution of that Kingdom. And yet have they not lost this Privilege? And what one Security has any Peer of England, by the Laws of this Land, to his Right and Privilege of Peerage, which these Lords had not? My Lords the Bishops have once been Voted out of this House by the Temporal Lords already, and who knows what Question may come hereafter? I will venture my Life in Defence of the*
Church

Church of England, and yet at the same time own my self an *Occasional Conformist*. But if my Lords the Bishops will weaken their own Cause so far, as to give up the two great Points of *Episcopal Ordination and Confirmation*; if they will *Approve and Ratify* the Act of Securing the Presbyterian Church Government in *Scotland*, as the true *Protestant Religion, and Purity of Worship*; they give up that which has been contended for, between them and the Presbyterians these Thirty Years; and which I will undertake to prove to my Lords the Bishops, has been defended by the greatest and learnedst Men in the Church of *England*. I hope, when 'tis proper, my Lords will be pleas'd to give some Light to one who desires Instruction, that I may not *Ignorantly do any thing to their Prejudice in this Matter*.

There is another Reason why I am against this Union; because I cannot think it an ENTIRE UNION. The exempted Articles, I mean the 20th Article, whereby *Heritable Offices, and Superiorities are referr'd*; and also the 21st Article; both which Oliver by Act of State was so wise as to abolish: Especially their Act for securing their Presbyterian Church Government, and general Assemblies, seem to me like those little Clouds in a warm Summer's Day, that are generally the Seeds and Attractions of approaching Tempests and Thunder. I the rather take Notice of these, because tho' the Articles of Union are ratify'd by the Scotch Parliament, yet the Bulk and Body of that Nation seem to be against them. Have not the Murmurs of the People there been so loud as to fill the whole Nation? And so bold too, as to reach even to the Doors of the Parliament? Has not the Parliament it self thought fit to suspend their beloved Clause in their Act of Security, for Arming their People during the Session? Nay, has not the Government, by Advice of Parliament, set out a Proclamation, which

which I have here in my Hand, *Pardoning all Slaughter, Bloodshed, Maiming, &c. that is committed upon any who are found in any Tumults there, and discharging all Prosecutions for the future?* I do not mention this to find Fault with any thing that is done in *Scotland*, but only to shew to your Lordships, that when *such an unusual Proclamation* as this, is set out by the Advice of Parliament, and cannot stay the Forms of a Law, when we know that upon Extraordinary Occasions, *if it be but to Grace a Compliment*, a Bill may be read three times in one Day: *Sure, my Lords, it shews a very great Ferment, that requires so very speedy an Application.* After all, *has not what we desire, I mean their being upon the same Foot of Succession with us, been offer'd without this Union?* In short, *my Lords*, I think an *Incorporating Union*, one of the most *Dangerous Experiments* to both Nations; in which if we happen to be mistaken, however we may think of curing Things hereafter, the Error is irretrievable.

My Lords, This is the last Time that I believe, I shall ever trouble your Lordships, *in an English Parliament*, give me leave therefore to say but one Word.

In King *Charles* the First's Time, the Cavaliers were the Persons that ventur'd their Lives, and lost their Estates to serve Him; and in King *Charles* the Second's Time, they were forgot and left Starving. At the Restoration, the Presbyterians were as Zealous for that, as any Men whatsoever, yet none were more persecuted all His Reign. Towards the latter End of that Reign, the Bishops threw out the *Bill of Exclusion*, and King *James*, by way of Thanks for it, put them into the Tower. At the Revolution the *London-derry Men, &c.* were the Persons that made the First and Noblest Stop to King *James* in *Ireland*, and I my self have fed some of them at my own Table,

Table, when they were Starving with the greatest Commendations, and Promises in their Pocket ; which I have seen under King *William's* own Hand. In the last Reign, *every Body knows who they were that made their most constant Court at St. James's ; and we see in what Favour they are at Present.*

Now there is a great deal of Zeal for this Union ; I wish from my Soul, that the Advantages may attend it of Tranquillity and Security, Power, Peace, and Plenty, as are intended by it ; but yet it is possible Men may be Mistaken. I wont say, they will ever *Repent it*, but I will take leave to say what I have formerly said in this Place, *that what has been, may be.*

Several Noble Peers back'd this excellent Speech, in particular, the very Learned and Prudent Dr. *George Hooper*, Lord Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, who Spoke to that Part of it which related to his Order, after begging Pardon for troubling their Lordships on that Account, and saying, that if *he offer'd any Thing out of the way, he was under their Correction*, declaring that *for his Part, he was altogether against that Union, which he could wish with all his Heart had been compleated a Hundred Years ago : Because,* said he, *all the Ferment and Discord, which is likely to ensue upon it, would by this time have had their Course.* That he could no better compare it, than to the mixing together strong Liquors of a contrary Nature, in one and the same Vessel, which would soon being burst asunder by their precipitate Fermentation. That, as their Bench was always reckon'd the dead Weight of the House, so those Sixteen Peers being admitted to sit therein, would more effectually make it so ; especially in any future Debates relating to the Church, towards which, they could no ways be suppos'd to be well Affected ; and therefore he was humbly of Opinion, that some Provision might be made

made for debarring them of their Vote, in any Church Matter that should hereafter come in Agitation.

But all that could be said in Defence of the Old English Establishment, or making a further Provision for the Church, the Question was put, whether that Article of the Treaty of Union, should be postponed (which was the first) till all the other Articles had been Examined, it pass'd *not Content*, by a Majority of 72 Voices, against 22 *Content*, after the Earl of *Wharton* had reply'd, that tho' all the *Scotch* Peers were never so much of the *Kirk* Party, yet there was no Reason to fear, but they would also be very well dispos'd for the Church of England, and stand up in its Defence on all Occasions, since there were even some sitting amongst their Lordships, who would venture their Lives for the Church of England, and yet openly declar'd themselves to be, at the same Time, Occasional Conformists, by way of Observation on a certain Passage, in the foregoing Speech, and Answer to my Lord *North* and *Grey*, who agreed with the Bishop in saying, *That as one might very well suppose, that those Scotch Peers would be such as were addicted to the Kirk, it may prove of a dangerous Consequence to the Church of England;* so that upon this Occasion the Lord *Haversham's* Oration fail'd of its wonted Success.

It was expected, according to Custom, that the Lords would have begun their Session in the Year 1707, with an Address of Thanks to the Queen; but when Her Majesty's Speech came first to be consider'd, the Earl of *Wharton* made an elaborate Harangue, wherein, amongst other things, He took notice of the great Decay of Trade, and scarcity of Money. He was seconded by the Lord *Somers*, who likewise enlarg'd upon the ill Condition and late Mismanagements of the Navy. So that when the Earl of *Stamford* mov'd for an Address to Her Majesty, to return Her Thanks for Her most Gracious Speech, He was oppos'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Ros-*

chester, and the Lord *Guernsey*, who said they ought in the first place to consider the *State of the Nation*. Upon which it was order'd, that the State of the Nation should be taken into Consideration on the *Wednesday* following, in a Committee of the whole House. Accordingly, the Lord *Herbert of Cherbury* being Chairman, a Petition given in by the two Sheriffs of *London*, and subscrib'd by above two Hundred of the most Eminent Merchants in the City, was read, complaining of *the great Losses they had lately sustained at Sea, for want of Convoys and Cruizers, and begging a speedy Remedy*. After the Reading of this Petition, which was presented to the Committee by the Earl of *Wharton*, His Lordship begun the Debate by laying open the miserable Condition of the Nation, and the great Decay of Trade. Several other Peers spoke to the same Effect, and among the rest, the Lord *Haversham* spoke as follows.

My Lord Herbert,

I Was so unfortunate as not to be in the House when your Order was mov'd, but thought it my Duty to pay Attendance upon so extraordinary Occasion. I know it is generally look'd upon as a Mark of great Weakness and Imprudence, to attempt *Impossibilities*: That Man would scarce be thought in his right Senses, that should endeavour to stop the Tide at Graves-end with his Thumb; and not rather suffer it to take its own Course, as knowing that it will as surely have its Ebb, as it will its Flux; but yet there are some Cases wherein the Universal Practice of Mankind, shews the Mistake of this Maxim. Who is there, that seeing his Parent Languishing, and in an irrecoverable Consumption, would not think it his Duty to give him all the Assistance in his Power, though he was morally certain, all his Endeavours would prove Ineffectual, and the fatal Hour was just approaching? Nay, does not every Man endeavour

to preserve his own Life, while at the same Time he knows that Death it self is most Unavoidable?

This I take to be the present Case of ENGLAND (I ask your Lordships Pardon, that I have not yet forgot *that beloved Name*) I mean BRITAIN. Our Condition is very Low and Desperate, and yet I think my self oblig'd to do all I can towards the helping of *a poor sinking Island*, though I am convinc'd at the same Time, it will prove very Insignificant.

My Lords, The two Things you have now under your Consideration, your FLEET, and your TRADE, have so near a Relation, and such mutual Influence upon each other, they cannot well be separated: Your Trade is the Mother, and Nurse of your Seamen; your Seamen are the Life of your Fleet, and your Fleet is the Security and Protection of your Trade, and both together are the Wealth, Strength, Security and Glory of BRITAIN.

And this is so manifest, that those who have written upon these Subjects, whether Foreigners, or among our selves, have own'd it, which makes it astonishing, that a Thing so clear and evident, and wherein our Interest and Safety does so much consist, should be *Post-pon'd to any foreign Consideration whatsoever*, wherein we are less concern'd: But we are so unhappy, as to struggle with so many complicated Difficulties, that what is proper for one thing, is prejudicial to another.

My LORDS,

I must make the same Apology for my self as that Noble Lord did (*the Earl of Wharton*) who first began this Debate; though I may speak very plainly, it is with a very honest Intention of Service, and a very real Sense of our great Losses and Misfortunes. His Lordship has spoke so very well, and so fully too to these Points, that whatever I can say

upon the same Subject, will, after what has been said by him, come from me with a very ill Grace, yet give me leave, my Lord, to speak a Word or Two.

Your Disasters at Sea have been so many, that a Man scarce knows where to begin. Your Ships have been taken by your Enemies, as the DUTCH take your Herrings by Shoals upon your own Coasts; nay, your ROYAL NAVY itself has not escaped: And these are pregnant Misfortunes, and big with INNUMERABLE MISCHIEFS; your Merchants are beggered, your Commerce is broke, your Trade is gone, your People and Manufactures ruin'd, the Queen has lost Her Customs, and the Parliament must make good the DEFICIENCIES; while in the mean Time our Allies have an open and flourishing Trade, and our Enemies make use of both our own SHIPS and SEAMEN too against Us.

There is yet a further Grievance, when through a Thousand Difficulties and Dangers, the honest Trader has brought Home some small Effects, he is fallen upon, and oppress'd by Vexatious, and unjust Prosecutions: *I mention this with Relation to the UNION, and to shew, that though I was always against it, yet since it is made, I am for keeping firmly and exactly to it.*

My Lord, *The Face of our Affairs are visibly chang'd in the space of one Year's Time, and the Temper of the Nation too. Formerly Men stifled their Misfortunes, and were afraid of whispering them out for fear of being overheard and undone. Now, it is hard to stop their Mouths, or keep them within any Bounds, the moving Objects of Sorrow we meet with every where, the Tears of the Fatherless, and Cries of the Widows, have rais'd both a Compassion for the Distressed, and Resentment and Indignation against the Authors of these Misfortunes; and the very Flames which of late have shewn abroad, no Body knows from whence, and Papers which have been cry'd in your Streets, are all Marks of the great Ferment the Nation is in.*

My Lord, you are now upon the great enquiry, by what *Ways and Persons*, we have been brought into this miserable Condition; I think it very indifferent which way you proceed. It seems reasonable that those Lords who first mov'd this Order, should put it into what Method they please; but I must take leave to say, that Begin where you will, if you do not *End with the Ministry*, we shall be in a worse Condition, in my Opinion, than we were before.

As to the ADMIRALTY, if the *Prince's Council* have committed any Fault, it is very fit they should have what they Deserve, but I hope no Persuasion will prevail with the *Prince Himself* to lay down that Commission. The Navy I think is safer in his Hands, than in any other Man's whatsoever; and I'll give your Lordship my Reason for it. He has Advantages no other Person can pretend to: He owes not His Commission to the Favour of any Great Minister whatsoever, nor is He within the Reach of their Power; He stands upon a much more unshaken and firm Foundation; and if there be any Mistake, it is impossible to be the Effect either of the Fear, or the Anger of a Great Minister, or a Care to please Him.

My Lords, I take the ROOT of all our Misfortunes to be in the MINISTRY, and without a Change of the Ministry, in my Opinion no other Remedy will be effectual: It may perhaps be told by some Lord, that I arraign the Ministry. I know that is not proper here, yet every Lord has Liberty of speaking his Thoughts freely, and taking Notice of any Thing he thinks a Grievance to the Nation: and it is under this Notion of Complaint, and from a sense of our miserable Condition, that I say this to your Lordships, and if I were not confident I stand upon sure Ground, I should not venture thus far; but I have my Justification in my Hand. And now, *my Lord*, it is fit I should prove what I say.

Should

Should I mention the *Breach* of the First, Fourth, and Last Article of the UNION, I am within your Order, and those Lords who *Serve* at Present for the North Part of *BRITAIN*, I am confident have heard of a *Complaint and Address of the Royal Burroughs*; and I might remember the Disappointments we have met with in *SPAIN*; but I hope those two Points will be some time or other consider'd. I'll therefore keep my self for Proof strictly to your Petition, and I think nothing is more evident than that your *MINISTRY has been the Cause of these Misfortunes*. And the Argument which convinces me of it is drawn from an *Address of your Lordships in 1704*, which I have in my Hand. I know before whom I speak, the QUEEN is a Princess of that consummate Wisdom, as not to do any thing without the *Advice of Her Ministry*, your Lordships did then most *humbly advise and Address Her Majesty, that particular Care might be taken of those two Points*, none but those that have Her Majesty's Ear could prevail to the contrary, and the want of following your Lordships Advice has lost the Nation near Ten Millions since; and therefore it evidently follows, that your *Ministry* have been the *Occasion of these Losses*.

In short, *my Lords*, for I'll trouble you no farther, let our *Misfortunes* be *Skin'd over as they will*, if they fester and throb, and are foul at bottom, they will certainly *break out with incurable Rage and Fury*.

‘ This Speech indeed fell short of the Design of
 ‘ it, which was to induce Her Majesty to change
 ‘ Hands with Her Ministers; yet it so far prevail'd, (after
 ‘ the Lord *Hallifax* had mov'd, being back'd by the
 ‘ Earl of *Godolphin*, that a Committee should be appoint-
 ‘ ed to receive Proposals for Encouraging of Trade
 ‘ and Privateers in the *West-Indies*, which was car-
 ‘ ried in the Affirmative) as to obtain their Lord-
 ‘ ships Vote for an Address to Her Majesty, in
 ‘ order to remedy the Grievances of Trade, and
 ‘ Mismanagements at Sea.

January

January the 12th, 1708, being appointed by the Lords to consider the State of the Nation relating to the intended Invasion, the Lord *Haversham* open'd the Debate in the following Speech.

MY LORDS,

I Have a greater Respect for your Lordships than to keep you in any Expectation ; there's nothing I can say, I am sure, can in the least deserve it.

My Lords,

When the Campaign was at an End, when a Land-Tax lay on your Table, when the due Respect had been paid to that Sorrow in which we all bear a Part, when the Session of Parliament was so greatly advanc'd, and a long Recess so near at hand, I thought it might be a proper Time to put your Lordships in Mind of the *late intended Invasion* ; and the rather, because *an Enquiry into this* seem'd to Me, to be what *the Nation expected*, and what I have observ'd, even those who have differ'd in their Thoughts about it, yet unanimously desir'd : but above all, because it is a Matter, in which not only our Welfare and Happiness, but *Our very Being it self, the Security of the Nation, and the Safety of Her Majesty*, are so highly concerned.

I did endeavour to prove the first of these to your Lordships, when I made you this Motion, by Reasons taken *from the flourishing of your Trade, the Support of your Credit, the Nature of your Victories, and the quieting of Mens Minds at Home*; and shall now, with your Lordships Leave, say a few Words to the other Part, and shew your Lordships how much this Enquiry concerns us all *in Point of Safety*.

Some perhaps may think, that after such wonderful Successes Abroad, as we have had the last Year; after the French King has lost *Lisle*, and been forc'd to abandon *Ghent* and *Bruges* ; to Speak to your Lordships of any Danger at Home, or to have the
least

least Apprehension from such a baffled Enemy, were to expose the Weakness of a Man's own Judgment : But I shall endeavour to shew your Lordships how dangerous a Mistake this is, from *Example, Reason,* and Authority, the Three best Arguments I know to prove any Truth by.

MY LORDS,

Were not *Hochstet* and *Ramellies*, as *Glorious Victories*, and as great Mortifications to the French King, as our taking of *Lisle*, or reducing of *Ghent* ; and yet after such entire Victories, such repeated Defeats, had not this haughty Neighbour of ours, the Presumption in the last Year to attempt the setting a Pretender upon Her Majesty's Throne. And can we reasonably promise our selves any Security, whenever He is in a Condition ? Is He not as near us this Year as He was last, notwithstanding all our Conquests ? That's an Advantage our Allies only have by them, to have their Enemy at a greater Distance. Has He not as many Ships, and as many Friends too, except one, as I mentioned to your Lordships ? Nay, my Lords, has He not as great Encouragement to renew His Attempt as He had to undertake it, as I shall presently shew your Lordships. From whence then does our Security arise ? Besides, my Lords, what is yet further, every Body is convinc'd by the inconsiderable Force, the small Number of Ships and Troops the French King employ'd in the late Attempt upon us in the last Year, That His Chief dependance was upon the Encouragement and Promises of Assistance He had from Hence ; and yet notwithstanding all our Enquiries, is it not as great a Mystery to this day as it was, who the Persons amongst us are, who were concern'd in this black and unnatural Treason ?

'Tis true, my Lords, several Persons of great Quality and Interest have been taken up upon Suspicion, brought from their own Homes and Country, whilst others

others thereby have had the Opportunity of Supplanting them in their Interest there. 'Tis not for Me to say, whether this proceeded from *Ill Will* to some, or *Favour* to others, but, *has any thing been prov'd against Them?* Does not the Bail that has been given for them, and their Sitting in this House, convince every Body of their Innocency? So that this way of Proceeding has rather prov'd vexations to the Subject, than any real *Security* to the Government, and, I hope, will make us for the future set a greater Value upon our *HABEAS CORPUS ACT*, which was the Right of every Subject before by Common Law.

Nor have the Characters that have been made of Persons to be suspected, had any better Effect. There are Two I shall mention to your Lordships, and I think greater Mistakes than both of them can scarce be put into Words: The *First* is, *That Men of arbitrary Principles are the Persons who ought to be suspected*; this Argument has been very much labour'd, and great pains have been taken to perswade the World from Mens practices in former Reigns, that they are still of Arbitrary Principles, and from thence 'tis inferr'd, they ought to be suspected. I shall not trouble your Lordships or my self at present, to shew the Weakness of this Argument. I will take it as they that have made use of it would have it, for a strong and undeniable Consequence, and then I ask, *What?* my Lords, *is the Nation to suspect any who are at the Head of your Ministry, of giving this Encouragement to your Enemies?* For I will be bold to say in this Place, if this be a good Argument, it is as strong against some who are at the Head of your Ministry, as against any Man I know of that is out of it.

There is another Character of Suspicious Persons, which I cannot but take Notice of, because I take it to be very fatal to the Freedom of Parliament; for it is impossible for any Man to take Notice, either in Parliament, or to the Queen Her Self, of any wrong Measures,

Measures, or false Step in the Management of Publick Affairs, without so far reflecting on the Ministry; and if this is to be interpreted as an Artful Method of lessening Her Majesty's just Esteem of Her Ministers, and those who do so, are to be Mark'd as Dangerous to the Safety of Her Majesty's Person, and the present Establishment, I am afraid Her Majesty for the future may have several Things conceal'd from Her, which might be for Her Service to know, and one of the greatest Ends and Uses of Parliaments, the Redressing of Grievances, and keeping Great Men in Awe, will quickly be laid aside. But, my Lords, we have a very visible Instance that this is a great Mistake; for do we not see those Lords, who the last Year espous'd the Case and Complaint of the Merchants in Parliament, now advanc'd to the greatest Places of Trust and Power? So that these two Methods have rather shew'd us, who OUGHT NOT, then who ARE to be Suspected.

MY LORDS,

I shall now take leave to say one Word to the Positive Part, and if we would apply an Observation of the Schools to the Case in Hand, I believe it would set this Matter in the truest Light. They tell us there is a great difference to be made between a *Division* and a *Distinction*: Every Division is indeed a Distinction, but every distinction is not a Division. The Soul and the Body are Distinct, but they are not divided, for that would be a State of Death: It is so in this Case. The Papist, Jacobite, and Nonjurors, are a Party of Men divided from the rest of the Nation; they want that *Forma informans*, as they call it, that vital Spirit of Love and Loyalty that animates every good Subject. But as for others, however they may be distinguish'd, and differ among themselves in their Notions relating either to Ecclesiastical or Civil Policy, yet they seem all to have the same Regard and Concern for the Honour and Safety of Her Majesty and Government. I would not be misunderstood as if I did not think some of all Persons may be faulty. I know

know that even among the Apostles themselves, *he that bore the Bag prov'd the Traytor*. My meaning only is, that those who have taken the Test to the Government, may at least pretend to an equal Degree of your Charity with those who never yet own'd it; and it is these Persons, who never swore to the Government, that Her Majesty directly Points at, in Her last Speech to Her last Parliament; for after She has been pleas'd to say: 'It is certain we must be all
' *inexcusable, if we do not take Warning from this*
' *Attempt, to compleat what may be necessary for*
' *our Security at Home, and the Discouraging the*
' *like for the future; to which, by God's Blessing,*
' *there shall be nothing wanting on my Part. In*
the following Paragraph, She is pleas'd to add:
' *I must Recommend to you, at your return into*
' *your several Counties, to use your utmost Care and*
' *Diligence, in putting the Laws in Execution against*
' *Papists, and all others Disaffected to My Govern-*
' *ment, and in making Them pay towards the*
' *Publick Taxes, to the Full of what the Law Requi-*
' *res from them: Nothing being more reasonable than*
' *that they, who by their Principles and Practices en-*
' *courage (if not actually foment) such Disturbances,*
' *should doubly contribute to the Charge of Quieting*
' *Them, and securing the Kingdom's Peace, and should*
' *know themselves on all such Occasions, to be Respon-*
' *sible for the many Inconveniencies that may ensue.*
Which two Paragraphs will, I hope, justify what I have taken Notice of to your Lordships.

My LORDS,

I do not forget the Obligation I am under to a Noble Lord, and therefore shall now shew your Lordships, that notwithstanding the French King fail'd in His late Attempt upon us, yet *He has more Encouragement to renew it, than he had at first to undertake it.* And my Lords, I think a great deal that I have said to your Lordships sufficiently prove it. Is it not a great Encouragement to Him, to see not-

withstanding so many Friends that he has amongst us, *all the Methods that we have hitherto taken, has signified so little to discover any of them?* And that those Methods have not been taken, that might perhaps have signified more towards a Discovery, and have been made use of at other Times; I mean *Promises both of Pardon and Reward.* Does He not see how easily He can shake the *Main Pillar* that *Supports all our Commerce, I mean the BANK?* Was it not in danger of Breaking? And has it recover'd the Blow to this Day, that He gave it? For, my Lords, if Men cannot be Masters of their own Money, which they trust with any Body, upon no other Reason, but that they may command it again in any Case of Necessity, *without being look'd upon as suspected Persons,* I believe Men will be so wise as to secure both their Money and themselves too, from any such Danger. There is another Encouragement which he has, *my Lords,* and that is, *the Weak and Defenceless Condition of Scotland, the Deficiency of Force, and ill State of your Garrisons there, at the time of the Invasion,* notwithstanding the certain Accounts and Knowledge we had of it. What, *my Lords,* will no Alarm awaken us? Will the Scales never fall off from our Eyes? Must some Mens mighty Services prevent our looking into others great Miscarriages? And must this poor Nation be eternally Sawn asunder by the Struggles of Contending Parties? *My Lords,* I hope it is not thought, I have been thus urgent with your Lordships from any Fears of Personal Danger: I am content to take my Lot with others, as it falls, whatever it be: But I am afraid lest Her Majesty should be dethron'd while She lives and that the Destruction of Popery or Slavery, should suddenly, like a Flood, break in upon Us.

My LORDS,

If your Lordships have any Intention of looking into this Matter, I shall make your Lordships a Motion, which perhaps may give us some Light: It is indeed a complex One, and rather a Schedule of Papers; it is, *That Her Majesty will please to Order, that there may be*
laid

laid before this House, at what time Her Majesty receiv'd the first Account of the intended Invasion? What Orders were thereupon issued into Scotland, with relation either to the Forces or Garrisons? What was the number of Regular Troops and Forces there, at the time of this Intelligence? What was the State of the Garrisons there at that Time? What Augmentation was made, or Forces sent thither, from the Time of Intelligence, to the Time of the Invasion? What Orders have been given with relation to the Garrisons, and when, both before and since the Invasion, from the Time of the first Intelligence?

The Effect of this Speech was an Address from the Lords to Her Majesty, to cause the Papers concerning that Affair, to be laid before them, which Her Majesty was pleas'd to Direct. Upon the Consideration of which, on *Friday the 25th of February*, a Day set apart for that Service, His Lordship open'd the Account of the aforesaid Invasion in the following Speech.

MY LORDS,

THE Temper of this House, with Relation to your Enquiry into the *Intended Invasion*, since your Address to Her Majesty, to have the Papers laid before you, and since they have been upon the Table, is so very Visible, I need not take Notice of it, but ought rather to ask Forgiveness for my self, that I should dare so much as to mention that Matter, once more to your Lordships; nor should I do it, were it not from an absolute Necessity and Justice, which I think is due to my self, and those Lords who did me the Honour to Second the Motion I made for Addressing Her Majesty for those Papers; for to me, it seems too much like Fear or Guilt, to sit down tamely under any Reflection a Man has in his Power to wipe off, and there are some which We perhaps may be hereafter reproach'd with.

One

One is, that these Lords who made you the Motion, never so much as look'd into the Papers they call'd for, or have thought on, or mentioned that matter since; perhaps they will say so too, that they never intended it should come to any Thing; that it was only a Cover to hide some Design they had under it; nay, I do not know, but they may go so far as to say, that, under Hand, they were trying, how an *Act of Grace* would relish. Should such a thing be offer'd, I know my self so Innocent, as in our present Circumstances, I should not give my Consent to it; for I shall alway think, that *when Horses are skittish, vicious, and headstrong, let who will be upon their Back, it is fit they should never be without a good strong Curb in their Mouths*: And as to these Papers, my Lords, I have look'd into them, and those who have done so, cannot, in my Opinion, but think of them. But that your Lordships may not have my Word for this, I will, with your Lordships leave, take Notice of some Particulars that are in them; and that you may be certain of the Truth of what I Observe, I beg your Clerk may read for Vouchers, the Papers themselves, as they shall be call'd for.

It will not, I presume, be deny'd me, that upon the 23^d of February Mr. Boyle received certain Intelligence, that the intended Armament at *Dunkirk* was design'd against *Scotland*; there had been several Advices before of great Preparations making, and by the great quantity of Fire Arms it was judg'd to be for a *Land Design*. The States were Apprehensive, and acquainted Her Majesty by their Minister with it; and *Scotland* had been in several Intelligences named, but I do not find there was a certain Account till that of the 23^d of February to Mr. Boyle.

The Queen in Her Letter of the 25th of February, to the Council of *Scotland*, thinks it necessary to acquaint them with it, and that she does expect they should do their Utmost for the Protection of Her Subjects, and Preservation of the Publick Peace: That nothing on
Her

Her Part should be wanting: That she had given Orders that some of Her Troops in Flanders, should be ready to embark, in Case the Embarkation at Dunkirk should go on: And that Her Troops in England and Ireland were so dispos'd, as to give what Assistance might be necessary, and in the mean time Authorizes and Empowers them, (the Privy Council) to give such Orders as were proper to put Her Forces, Forts, and Garrisons there, in the best Order.

This then being allow'd, the first Question is, What Number of Forces, effective regular Troops I mean, were in *Scotland* at this Time, viz. the 23^d or 25th of *February* 1708? I can't but Observe to your Lordships, that there has been a great deal of Care taken to conceal this from Us, altho' this very Account was particularly ask'd for by your Address; yet in all that great Bundle there is not one Paper from whence we can learn the Number. I was therefore forc'd to get the best Light and Intelligence I cou'd elsewhere, and have very good Authority for what I am going to say, and do affirm to your Lordships that the Regular Forces in *Scotland* upon the 25th of *February* 1708, were not above 1500 Men. If I am mistaken, I hope some Lord here will set me right, and take upon him to say, what the real Number was at that Time.

And since there were but 1500 Men, it is certain that was not a Number or Strength, that could be thought by any Man sufficient to Secure and Protect the Kingdom against the Invasion, that threatned it; and the Ferment that was then in the Nation, was such that I do not find they durst so much as trust their *Militia* with their own Defence. We are therefore in the next Place to consider, what additional Strength or Augmentation, this handful of Men had, or what Assistance either from the Forces from *Ostend*, or those from *Ireland*, or *English Troops* from hence.

As to Augmentations and Additions, I find there was little or nothing done as to that Part. The Parliament indeed had on the 20th of December 1707, rais'd the Establishment of their Forces in Scotland from 2834 to 5932, it appears by a Letter from the Earl of Leven to the Earl of Marr, of the 7th of March, that little Notice had been as yet been taken of what the Parliament had done, for in that Letter to the Earl of Marr, *He entreats him again to mind the Establishment, and let him know if he shall give Encouragement to any who should be willing to take Arms to join Them, and says further, He hopes at least that so much of the Levy Money, as is due since the 24th of December, will be given now; for that would buy some Horses, and Levy some Men.* So that by this Letter it appears there was no Money given to Levy Men, or increase the Forces in Scotland, tho' there was 3600 Men wanting at that Time, and had been so ever since the Parliament had voted the Establishment in December; and tho' our Danger at that Time, from the want of them, was so very Great and Evident, which seems very Astonishing. Nor does it appear that any Directions, or Money for this, or any other Service, till the Invasion was over, was order'd here till the 12th of March, and then indeed on the 13th the Earl of Marr writes from hence to the Earl of Leven, *that the Lord Treasurer had order'd the People of the Customs and Excise, to answer the Earl of Leven with Money for Provisions, and other necessary Changes:* And further says, that MY LORD MARLBOROUGH told him that very morning, which was the 13th, *that the Scotch Establishment would be ended that Day; He knows not how they have made it, or if they have alter'd any thing that We had concerted with St. JOHNS (then Secretary of War) or any thing be omitted, but He hop'd they have not.*

'Tis very True, Her Majesty in Her Second Letter of the 8th of March, to the Council of Scotland, recommends to them *to give present Directions*

to put Her Forts, Garrisons, and Magazines there in a good Posture of Defence, and says, that what shall be expended towards those Ends by their Warrants shall be repaid, for which She has already given Orders. What those Orders were, or to whom given, is not to be found among the Papers; but it is very Evident, that there was no Order for one Farthing of Money, to answer either the Orders of the Council, or the Earl of Leven's necessary Charges, out of any Branch of the Revenue, or otherwise: For in a Letter of the Earl of Leven, to the Earl of Marr, of the 13th of March, He has these Words, which will likewise shew the Condition of the Nation at that Time. *My Lord, says he, I leave it to your Lordship to consider my Circumstances, here I am, not one Farthing of Money to provide Provision, or for Contingences, or for Intelligence, none of the Commissioners yet sent down, few Troops, and those almost naked; it vexes me sadly to think I must retire towards BERWICK, if the FRENCH Land on this side the FRITH.* And that you may not have His Lordship's single Word for it, the Lord Advocate very much confirms the Truth of this, in his Letter of the 11th of March, to the Earl of Marr; for after he had said that, he was order'd to lay before Her Majesty the inclos'd Information for the Castle of EDINBURGH, and a particular Account of what it wants to put it into a Case of Defence, and also the Castles of STERLING DUMBARTON, and BLACKNESS, to shew their present Condition, and Want they are in, and that he had formerly sent a Memorial of Mr. SLEAZERS for a Train of Artillery; all which he hopes will be Consider'd: He adds, *I believe, says he, there was never a Country more Destitute and Defenceless than We are, nor have We so much as a Treasury, or any Money for Incident Charges; so that I must again by the Councils Order, lay these things before your Lordship, that at least, some Order may be given whereby necessary Expences may be defray'd.* And the Earl of Marr's Letter of the 13th from hence, is the first

Account we have of any Money that was Order'd for *Scotland*: By all which it plainly appears, that notwithstanding the Orders which the Queen mentions in Her Letter of the 8th of *March*, the Council had not a Shilling for necessary Expences on the 11th, nay not so much as one Penny order'd till the 13th; and as to the Establishment, notwithstanding all the pressing Instances, that was not settled till after the Invasion, as appears by the Earl of *Marr's* of the 12th and 13th of *March*.

This, my Lords, is the true State, as appears from the Papers themselves given in, relating to the Force of that, I had almost said *deserted*, but I may say, *defenceless Nation*. Few Men, and those almost naked, 3600 Men wanting of the Establishment, voted by Parliament for the Year 1708, near three Months before no Levy Money, no Establishment settled, no Commissions sent down, not a Shilling order'd by the Ministry out of any Branch of the Revenue, or otherwise to the Privy Council, or Earl of *Leven*, for necessary Expences, or to buy Provision, or for Contingencies or Intelligence, and all this in a Time of the utmost Danger.

In the next Place, I shall shew your Lordships when *Scotland* was in this Defenceless Condition, what Assistance they had from *Ostend*, *England*, and *Ireland*. As to the Transports that were to come from *Ostend*, though all the Dispatch was made that cou'd be made, they did not arrive at *Tynmouth Bar*, till ten Days after the Enemy were seen upon the *Scotch Coasts*; so that the Dispute, if there had been any, would have been over, and the Enemy, in all human Probability, would have been Masters both of *Edinburgh*, the Castle, and all that was in it, before they could come up to their Assistance. And the very Orders to Rear Admiral *Baker* are so Extraordinary, a Man cannot but take Notice of them, for after that he is required and directed to make the best of his Way to *WYNDHOLEM*

MOU TH BAR, with *Her Majesty's Ships* under his Command, and the *Transport Ships* with *Troops*, which he brought with him from *Ostend*, &c. There is a further Order in these Words, but in regard there are several *Dismounted Troopers* on Board the *Transports*, you are to send a *Vessel* with them to *HARWICH*, if you can conveniently, their *Horses* being now in *ESSEX*, so that instead of taking the *Horses* to *Tynmouth*, the *Dismounted Troops* are first to be sent to *HARWICH* to their *Horses*, and from thence to proceed to *Scotland*, which one would think were a very round about Way.

And as to our *Troops* from hence, which were to Assist them, the several *Regiments* of *Horse*, *Dragoons*, and *Foot*, had not their Orders to hold themselves in a readiness to March till the 11th of *March*. The next Day Orders were given for them to Augment, and on the 14th they were Order'd to March Northward, which was certainly too long a Delay, considering what a March it is from hence to *Edinburgh*; yet this was all the Readiness they were in to Assist them.

But there is one thing which is most Amazing, and I must again desire, if I am wrong in Fact, that some Lord here, who I am sure can, will set me right.

The Queen, as I shew'd to your Lordships in Her Letter of the 8th of *March*, which your Clerk just now read, told the Council of *Scotland*, our *Troops* from *Ireland*, which we mentioned in our last, are ready to embark in *Transport Ships* provided for those Places with all necessaries for that Service: And yet it does appear plainly that there were no *Transports* provided at that Time here, nor were any *Transport Ships* Order'd in *Ireland*; nay the very Orders to provide *Transports* were not given by my Lord *Sunderland* till the 12th of *March* here, nor by my Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for the *Troops* to be in a Readiness to be Transported, till the 13th, and then my Lord *Sunderland* sends

an Order to the Commissioners of Transports telling them, that it is *Her Majesty's Pleasure*, that they forthwith take up Shipping for the Transportation of Six Hundred Horse, that are to embark at the Whitehouse between Carrigfergus and Belfast; and 'tis left, says he, to your Discretion to hire these Ships either at Whitehaven, Liverpool, or Chester, as you can do it with most Expedition and Conveniency. And upon the 13th his Lordship sends another Letter, acquainting them, that they are to provide those Ships, Hay and Oats sufficient to serve Six Hundred Horse for a Fortnight, and as many Water Casks as may be necessary to carry Water: Particulars that were, it seems, forgot in the first Orders. And in an Extract of the Earl of Pembroke's Letter to the Lords Justices of Ireland, of the 13th, he tells them; *I do not doubt in the least but that your Lordships will issue proper Orders for one Regiment of Horse, and two of Dragoons, to be provided with all Necessaries ready to embark whenever there shall be Occasion for them: And it is Her Majesty's Opinion, that the Regiments under the Command of Lieutenant General Langston, Major General Ecklyn, and Lord Tunbridge should be on this Service, and I am of Opinion that it will be for the Service of the Queen, to have these three Regiments move with all Convenient Speed, and take their Quarters in and about Belfast and Carrigfergus, that they may be in a Readiness to embark; I desire your Lordships to give Directions to the proper Officers to provide and get ready, Hay, Oats, and Water, for at least a Fortnight.*

And here, if we consider that these Letters were Dated the 12th and 13th of March from hence, and that they were to go to the Commissioners for Transports, and to the Lords Justices in Ireland, that after these Transports were to be agreed for, and Hay, Oats, and Water to be provided, and the three Regiments order'd to March, what time this would take up. It seems very Evident, that *Her Majesty was not truly acquainted with the Danger She was*

in ; that She thought these Things were in a Readiness, which were not, and that the Orders She had given had not been observ'd, as She concluded they were ; and in the last Place, that these three Regiments must arrive in Scotland very late.

But there's one Thing more so very new, and without Precedent, that it cannot but be very astonishing, which is, that in the Earl of Leven's Instructions of the 4th of March, in that Part where he is order'd to Ireland for Assistance, there is a Blank left as to the Person to whom he is to write ; The Words are these, *you are upon the first Appearance of any Squadron of French Ships to send to Ire-*

land, to—————
to advertise him thereof, who has Orders to send Troops to your Assistance ; and yet, as was just now prov'd, both from my Lord Sunderland's Letter to the Commissioners of Transports, and from my Lord Lieutenants to the Lords Justices, there was not so much as an Order given for any Transports here till the 12th, nor any ever in Ireland, nor were the Three Regiments directed to move, in order to embarking, till the 13th.

I confess when I read this, I thought it was a Mistake of the Transcribers, till I saw these Words in the Earl of Leven's own Letter of the 7th of March, to the Earl of Marr ; *I desire you, says the Earl of Leven, to send down the Name of the Person I am to write to in Ireland, if there be occasion, and must still entreat your Lordship, that Orders be sent for some Horse and Dragoons to embark.* And again in his Letter of the 13th, where he has these Words to the Earl of Marr, he repeats the same Thing. *Pray endeavour to get Orders sent strait to Ireland, for Officers there to the embark,* for you know I have no Person's Name to whom to write. This convinces me beyond what any Man can say, that his Lordship did not know to whom to write, for sure his Lordship would not repeat

repeatedly affirm what was not Fact; and whoever considers, that there were no Orders lodg'd any where, for any Person from *Ireland*, upon Advice from the Earl of *Leven*, of the Appearance of the Enemy, to follow his Directions, and hasten to his Assistance; nor Directions here for Transports till the 12th, must, I think, be convinc'd, that this *Blank in the Instructions* did not happen by Chance, but was a premeditated and design'd Omission.

I would not forget any Care that was taken, and therefore must observe, that on the 27th of *February*, there were a Hundred Barrels of Powder ordered to be sent from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh*; but the Earl of *Leven* was not writ to about it till the 2d of *March*, which was four Days delay. And the Order it self was so very *Preposterous*, I had almost said *Ridiculous* (much like that of *Baker's*) that it had full as well been omitted; for instead of Ordering the Store-Keeper of *Berwick* immediately to carry a Hundred Barrels of Powder to *Edinburgh*, they send an Order to one Mr. *James Robb*, Deputy Store-Keeper of *Edinburgh*, to get Carts, and go with them to *Berwick*, and take Three Hundred Barrels of Powder, and bring them to *Edinburgh*. And Mr. *Grieve*, Store-keeper of *Berwick*, to the Board of the Ordnance, writes a Letter dated *March 10, 1708*, hither, that *Robb* was come to *Berwick*, and the Carts would be there that Night. And I appeal to a Lord, who cannot but know, whether the Powder came to *Edinburgh* before the Danger was past, and the French off our Coast? And whoever will reflect, that the Earl of *Leven's* Letter dated here the 2d of *March* was to go to *Edinburgh*, that then at *Edinburgh* Carriages were to be taken up for the Powder, then they were to go to *Berwick*, and from *Berwick* they were to return again to *Edinburgh*, will find it could hardly be there sooner.

The

The next Thing I shall take Notice of to your Lordships, is the State of the Garrisons. The Parliament had given the 20th of December, the Sum of 13098l. 17s. 2d. for the Garrisons of *North-Britain* for the Year 1708. But I cannot but think your Lordships will be greatly surpriz'd, when you find in what a wretched Condition they were. I'll give your Lordships but an Instance or Two, the rest are much in the same State.

Sterling-Castle.

This is a very considerable Post, a Place of great Importance, and yet what an Account is there of the Arms and Ammunition in that Place?

One Barrel of Powder.

550 *Fire-Locks*, of which about an Hundred fit for Service, and some of that Hundred want Ram-rods, and some Nails, all the rest unserviceable.

780 *Muskets*, which may be for Service, when furnished with Ram-rods: some Nails, and some shatter'd in the Stocks.

380 *Muskets*, with broken Stocks and Locks, and many wanting Locks, and all unserviceable.

150 Bundles of Match, all damnified with lying in the Rain.

300 *Bayonets*, with most of them broken and spoiled, altogether unserviceable.

300 *Cartridge Boxes*, all broken and unserviceable.

200 *Pikes*, damnified by long lying.

40 *Cannon Ball*, 18 Pounds.

70 *Cannon Ball*, 12 Pounds.

1200 *Balls*, 9 Pounds.

3400 *Balls*, 4 Pounds.

20 *Small Bomb Shells* without Mortars.

1200 *Hand Grenado Shells*.

50 *Stands*, Back and Breast.

Ordnance Stores in Blackness-Castle.

2 *Barrels of Corn Powder*, 100 each.

100 *Yards of Match*.

4 *Hand Spikes*.

50 *Muskets*

- 50 Musket Barrels repairable.
- 7 Scymitar Blades useles.
- 100 Pound Musket Bullets.
- 3 Ladles, 1 serviceable, 2 Useles.
- 2 Cannon, 3 Pounders.
- 1 Train Carriage unserviceable.
- 2 Minions.
- 3 Faulcons on Ship Carriages unserviceable.
- 77 Balls, for Minion.
- 5 Balls, for 3 Pounders.
- 149 Hand Grenado Shells.

Dunbarton-Castle.

There are several Breaches in the Wall, there are 12 Brass Guns, none of them mounted: All of them want Carriages. There is no Powder in the Garrison, and few Flints; all the Lodgings in a ruinous Condition; no Coals in the Garrison, nor any other Provisions. The Fire-Locks being, long since they were gotten, are very ill fixed.

Edenburgh, March the 9th 1703.

The abovementioned is the true Condition of the Castle of Dunbarton at present.

I need not, *my Lords*, I think, make any Observations upon the Castles, after your Lordships have seen the wretched State of them; and therefore in the first Place, shall only take notice to your Lordships, that after the *Invasion* was over, there were *Estimates* made, what it would cost to put the *Fortifications* of Scotland in good Repair, the Total; as appears by your Schedule, amounts to 23156*l.* of which there could be but 3000*l.* laid out this Year; and yet there has been but poor 1500*l.* expended upon that Service this Year, as appears by your Paper.

I will not trouble you farther, I think this matter is now very plain before your Lordships; I could wish I had not said one Word of Truth in what I have said to you; but the Vouchers shew it to be so; and if all this be true, 'tis a very strange, a very surprizing, and a very astonishing Truth. This

This long Speech, or Representation rather, which contain'd so many undeniable Truths, and spoke nothing but the real Condition of our Affairs in *Scotland*, was partly render'd of no Effect by the Ministry, to whose Fault it was justly imputed, that no better Provision was made for the Security of that Part of *Great Britain*, and partly to the little Regard that was shown to an Enemy, who after so many Defeats and Disappointments, could not be thought to have it in his Power, to attempt an Invasion a Second Time.

The Subject which gives being to the following Piece of Oratory, is so common in the Mouths of the present Age, that has not yet parted with its Concern for this Adventurous (I had almost said, unprecedented, Tryal) that it would be needless to inform any Reader that is living in this Century about it. But since Posterity may stand in need of some Aids relating to the Occasion, and the Works of this admirable Person are like to be of equal Duration with Time it self, it may not be amiss to tell those that come after us, That *Dr. Henry Sacheverell* having had an Impeachment against Him, at the Suit, and in the Name of all the Commons of *Great Britain*, was accordingly try'd for the same before the House of Lords with great Solemnity. His Accusation consisted of *Four* Vide, *the Tryal Articles*, which having been spoken to by the Managers against Him, before that *August* Assembly, who were answer'd by the Doctor's Council, their Lordships withdrew to their own House, as usual, to debate upon the Matter, and make an enquiry amongst themselves, whether the Person so accus'd was Guilty or not Guilty of what He had been charg'd with.

Accordingly, after several Speeches for Him by the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Rocheſter*, and his Grace the Duke of *Leeds*, who would have made it rather an Indiscretion, than a Crime, and many more against Him, by the Earls of *Surrey*

derland, Wharton, Duke of Devonshire, Bishops
 of Salisbury, Oxford, Lincoln and Norwich; the
 Lord Haversham thus delivered His Sentiments of the
 Doctor's Innocence of what He was charg'd with
 in the First Article of the Impeachment.

MY LORDS,

WHEN I consider where this Impeachment first began, I cannot but think the Design of it was very good; but whatever it was, in its first Intendment, 'tis very evident, it has already produced very mischievous Effects; it has created great Disturbances in private Families, and Tumults amongst the People; and raised a Ferment in the Nation, that will not be laid by your Lordships Judgments, let that be what it will. It has been a two-edged Mischief; giving the Church on the one side, and the Dissenter on the other, too just Apprehension, that they are both in danger. Nor can this be wondered at, when your Lordships have been told, by some of the Managers, of a pretended Divine Right of the Church; and when it has been more than hinted by the Managers of the House of Commons, That the Clergy ought to be directed by the Civil Power, what Doctrines they should teach: Nay, when they have authoritatively taken upon them to interpret Scripture, and charged it as a Crime upon a Minister, that he had wrested several Places of it, to his own wicked Intentions.

My Lords, After so noble a Defence made for the Doctor by his Council, and so great and moving an Apology by himself, I should not trouble your Lordships upon this Occasion, were it not more in Justification of my self, for the Judgment I shall give, than for the sake of the Doctor, whose Cause, I think, now stands in very little need of it.

I was, My Lords, a Sufferer in the late Reigns, as well as others; I was in the Convention-Parliament, and in the Vote of Abdication; and am at this day, of the same Principle I was then; and yet, notwithstanding this, I am not ashamed to say to your Lordships, that I think my self obliged, in Justice,

Justice, to acquit the Doctor from the Charge brought against him in this Article. And tho' this may seem strange to some of your Lordships, yet, I hope, it will not appear so very strange as to see Bishops vote against their own Doctrines, and Dissenters in the midst of a Mobb, that are pulling down Meeting-Houses; especially, after the Reasons I shall offer to your Lordships for the support of my Opinion.

I shall not trouble your Lordships about the Original of Government, or the Divers Forms of it; your Lordships heard that learnedly discoursed on by one of the Managers of the House of Commons below: But there is one thing, *My Lords*, that if my Memory serves me right, that Gentleman omitted, and it is a Matter too that I take to be of the greatest Consequence to any Government whatsoever; I mean, the Divine Appointment, or Institution of Government it self; from which Appointment it is, that Men are obliged to Obedience to the Magistrate, not only for Wrath, or Fear of him, but for Conscience-sake, for Dread of a future Punishment, which is the greatest Security the Magistrate has. And I the rather mention this, because of Notions that some People have of late advanced of their own, (and have found their Advantage too in so doing) of a Discretionary-Obedience only; that is, in my Opinion, whilst the Government is for them, they will be for it; and think themselves bound to obey no longer. It is not necessary, to the Proof of this Divine Authority, to fix the just Time, and Place, when and where, and how the Knowledge of it was first communicated to Mankind; it is enough, that we have it as expressly, as plainly, and as clearly declared, as can be put into Words, that it is so.

There is another thing, *My Lords*, that in general, I would mention to your Lordships, before I come to the Article it self, which may otherwise be the Occasion of some Mistake in this Debate; we are not now judging according to our own

Notions of Politicks, or determining how far Resistance or Non-Resistance is lawful. It would be a strange Rule of Judgment, to find any Man guilty for the sake of one's own private Opinion, and for the establishing a Doctrine which he likes, and his Neighbour does not. But the only Question before your Lordships is, whether, and how far, the House of Commons have made good their Charge against the Doctor. And, I take Liberty to say plainly to your Lordships, that, in my Opinion, they have been very far from making good their Charge against him in this Article.

My Lords, to prevent the least Mistake, I shall read the Words of the Article to your Lordships, as they stand in the Impeachment.

“ He, the said *Henry Sacheverell*, in his said Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*, doth suggest and maintain, That the necessary Means us'd to bring about the said happy Revolution, were odious and unjustifiable: That his late Majesty, in his Declaration, disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance, and that to impute Resistance to the said Revolution, is to cast black and odious Colours upon his late Majesty and the said Revolution.

The Doctor in this Article is charg'd with having maintain'd, *That the necessary Means used to bring about the late happy Revolution, were odious and unjustifiable.* To support this, the Commons say, That having asserted the general Proposition of the Unlawfulness of Resisting the supreme Power, and not having excepted the particular Case of Resistance that was made use of as a Means to bring about the late happy Revolution; he does thereby reflect both upon the Means and upon the said Revolution. In Answer to this, there have been Two things insisted upon to your Lordships, in Behalf of the Doctor, by his Council: First, That in Cases of such a Nature as this, the Exception is always imply'd in the general Rule; and there was a very unanswerable Instance brought in Proof of this, at least to most of your Lordships; It was the Oath
of

of Allegiance to King *James*; all those that took that Oath, took it in general Words, and yet such an extraordinary Case as the Revolution was excepted, tho' not express'd by those that took that Oath. The next was, the Doctor, say they, would have been more justly blam'd, had he mentioned all the Cases of Exception, which extraordinary Cases ought to answer for themselves, whenever they fall out.

And tho' *My Lords*, these Two be a full Answer, yet there are two Things more, I think with Submission may be added to it, which have not as yet been taken Notice of.

The first is, *My Lords*, That the Proof against the Doctor is drawn by Consequences of the Commons own making, which he himself disowns; and I appeal to that Reverend and Learned Bench, who are great Masters of Controversy, whether it is not an Established Rule amongst all Learned Men that have the least spark of Ingenuity, that no Man ought to be charg'd with Consequences, let them appear to his Adversary never so clearly and undeniably to follow from his Assertion, when he himself denies those Consequences. This is so known a Maxim, in all Disputes between Protestants and Papists, and between Protestants themselves, that it cannot be deny'd. Now, the Doctor himself denying, as he does, that he had the least Thought of including the Revolution under his general Assertion, or that he apply'd his Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* to that Case, cannot, without the highest Injustice, be charg'd with Consequences, which he himself utterly denies.

In the next place, it is impossible, in my Opinion, to prove that Resistance was made use of as a Means to bring about the late happy Revolution; and consequently, is not within the Doctor's general Maxim.

Means, *My Lords*, is a relative Term, and refers to some End; and the End and Design of the Prince of *Orange* in his coming hither, and of those that join'd him when he was here, being to have the Nation and Rightful Succession secured by a Free Parliament, it follows, that whatever Force was at that Time made use of, could not be made use of as a Means to bring about an End which was never intended.

Far be it from me, *My Lords*, to lessen that great Undertaking to deliver us from Popery and Arbitrary

Power; and tho' the Glory of that Enterprize is wholly attributed to King *William*, 'tis certain, her present Majesty had her Share in it, however that is forgotten: For, give me leave to say, that had not Her Majesty countenanc'd the Undertaking of the Prince of *Orange* with her Assistance, in my Opinion, the Success had been very dubious.

Now, is it possible, *My Lords*, to imagine, that it was ever the Design of her Majesty, or those that join'd the Prince of *Orange*, to take the Crown off King *James's*, and put it upon King *William's* Head?

No, *My Lords*, the avowed great Design was quite otherwise, as appears by the Declaration itself, which was read below: It was to restore and secure our Laws from the Invasions that had been made upon them by Arbitrary Power: It was to secure that Right, that all the World knows the Princess had to the Succession of the Crown, and to have every thing settled by a free Parliament, and not to make a Revolution by dethroning King *James*. This the Prince himself owns, when he says in his Declaration, *he had no other Design in Coming hither, but a Free Parliament.*

My Lords, I take it to be of most dangerous Consequence, to judge any Man by Suggestions and Innuendo's: Let what will be said to justify it, it shall never be the Rule of my Judgment.

Groundless Suggestions, *My Lords*, have, within my Memory, been the Pretence of Power, to cover illegal Oppression with the Shew of Reason, to the Publick. I will give your Lordships but one Instance of it: It was the Case of a Reverend Prelate, now in the House; I mean, the Archbishop of *York*: His Grace was then Dr. *Sharpe* only. It was in the Year Eighty Six; there was an Order, directed by way of Letter to the Protestant Bishops, to discharge all the Inferior Clergy from preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity. They thought it served the Designs of Popery, then, to direct Ministers how they should preach; which was in effect, to forbid them to defend their Religion. This Precedent was taken from an Order in Queen *Mary's* Time (says the printed Account;) when at the same time, it was attack'd by the *Romish* Priests with all the Vigour they were capable of, whilst the Popish Sermons and Discourses were printed by Authority. Notwithstanding this Order, the Doctor took Occasion, in some of his Sermons, to vindicate the Church of *England*, in Opposition to the Frauds and Corruptions of Popery. But this, by the Court Emis-saries, was interpreted much the same way as Dr. *Sacheverel's* Sermon is now, by endeavouring to beget in the Minds of his Hearers, an ill Opinion of the King and his Government

ment, by insinuating Fears and Jealousies, to dispose them to Discontent, and to lead them into Schism, Disobedience and Rebellion.

My Lords, when the Homilies and Articles, when so many Archbishops and Bishops, the Universities, and most of the Foreign Divines too, especially the *Lutherans*, have asserted the same Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Supreme Power, as *Dr. Sacheverell* has ; I think it the hardest Case in the World, that this unfortunate Gentleman should be thus singled out and made a Criminal, and a kind of Martyr, enduring the Trial of cruel Mockings, yea, moreover, of Bonds and Imprisonment, for asserting the same Doctrine. 'Tis true, *Beza*, and *Pareus*, and some others of the *Calvinists*, are of another Opinion ; but 'tis known, that *Pareus's* Commentary on the 13th of the *Romans* was burnt at *Oxford*, by the Order of King *James* the First, for asserting the contrary Doctrine.

But there is one thing, *My Lords*, so astonishing in this Prosecution, that I cannot but take Notice of it : Those who were at *Man's* Estate, at the Revolution, know how Industrious, on the one Side, all that were Friends to King *James* were, to put his Leaving the Nation then upon the Foot of Force and Resistance, as thinking this the strongest and best Argument to justify his Withdrawing himself from his People ; they rack'd their Brains to find out Arguments to convince Men, that his Life was manifestly in Danger, by staying here ; and that it was for the sake of that, and his Liberty, that He was forc'd to withdraw ; and that his withdrawing was just, being an Act of Necessity, and not of Choice.

On the other side, those that were Friends to the Revolution, made it their Business to persuade the World, that all this was but a Colour and Pretence, and that the Fact was quite otherwise ; that the Sense and Conviction King *James* had of what he had done, prevail'd upon him rather to throw off the Government, than concur with a Free-Parliament.

That this was the only Foot they then put it upon ; and that it was not then put upon the Foot of Forfeiting the Government by Male-Administration ; which if any Man denies, I appeal to the Papers that were then writ, and are now in Print on this Subject.

This being so, it is very strange to see so great an Alteration in Mens Notions of Things ; and that now, after our Constitution has maintain'd it self upon this Foot, against all Designs and attempts that have been made upon it, for above twenty Years, those very Men, and that Party, who endeavour'd to place the Revolution then, upon King *James's* Voluntary Desertion, which they call'd *Abdication*, should now, without any Reason given, be for changing that Foundation, and do all they can, to put it upon King *James's* Foot of Force.

Force and Resistance. What, *My Lords*, are we endeavouring, after twenty Years, to make King *James's* Title better now than any of his Friends could make it then, and not only finding out Arguments they never thought of, by impeaching any that dare so much as question the Truth and Force of them? This, *My Lords*, seems very strange.

My Lords, I cannot but take Notice to your Lordships, of what was said by that Noble Lord, who spoke last, because, to me it appears to be a Matter of the last Consequence, to the Honour of Her present Majesty. He told your Lordships, that the best Title Her Majesty had to the Crown, was Her Parliamentary-Title, I must take Liberty to affirm the quite contrary; and that, in my Opinion, the best Title Her Majesty has, is Her Hereditary Title; tho' I deny not, but that the Act of Parliament is a Strengthening and Confirmation of that Title: But I deny a Parliamentary-Title to be the only, or best Title that the Queen has to the Crown she wears. And in saying this, I do not fear the Malicious Reflections of having a squinting Regard to the Title of any Person on the other side the Water; for in affirming (as I now do to your Lordships) that Her Majesty is my Rightful and Lawful Queen, by Right of Inheritance, and as she is Daughter to King *James* the Second, I do in so many Words affirm also, that there is no other Person, the Rightful and Lawful Heir to King *James*, but her self. And if the present Impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverell* shall have this Effect (as I hope it will) to convince the Nation of the undoubted Truth of her Majesty's Right of Inheritance to the Crown, (a Matter now so industriously oppos'd) the Security this will bring to her Majesty's Person and Crown, and to the Succession in the Protestant Line, and Illustrious House of *Hanover* afterwards, shall prevail with me easily to pardon any warm and unguarded Expressions, that the Doctor may here or there have dropt, and made use of in any of his Discourses.

Tho' the Tongue of an *Angel*, in all Effect, would have made no other Impression, than what his Lordships did at the Juncture of Time this was spoken in, and the result of these solemn Debates, was, that the Commons were declar'd to have made good their Impeachment in every Article, and Sentence was pass'd on the Dr. that he should be suspended from the Office of a Preacher for Three Years successive to it, and his Two Sermons burn'd by the Hand of the Common Hang-Man, &c. yet the sequel of this Trial, the Change of the Ministry, and the Dissolution of the Parliament, by the repeated Addresses of the People, has manifestly shew'd that tho' his Lordship had not the Fortune to prevail, by the Soundness of his Arguments, he has made his skill in Divination appear from what he has so happily predicted.

Haversham, John Thompson,

Memoirs of Lord John Haversham from 1640 to 1710

London 1711

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